

THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

- Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position *Herbert Blumer*
 - Filipino Stereotypes of Some National and Racial Minorities . . . *Joel V. Berreman*
 - A Sociologist Looks at History *Seymour Martin Lipset*
 - Three Classes of Social Change *Mervyn L. Cadwallader*
 - Differential Association with Delinquent Friends
and Delinquent Behavior *James F. Short, Jr.*
 - Emancipation from Parents and Courtship in Adolescents . . . *Charles W. Hobart*
 - Social Desirability as a Latent Variable in Medical
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RACE PREJUDICE AS A SENSE OF GROUP POSITION*

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In this paper I am proposing an approach to the study of race prejudice different from that which dominates contemporary scholarly thought on this topic. My thesis is that race prejudice exists basically in a sense of group position rather than in a set of feelings which members of one racial group have toward the members of another racial group. This different way of viewing race prejudice shifts study and analysis from a preoccupation with feelings as lodged in individuals to a concern with the relationship of racial groups. It also shifts scholarly treatment away from individual lines of experience and focuses interest on the collective process by which a racial group comes to define and redefine another racial group. Such shifts, I believe, will yield a more realistic and penetrating understanding of race prejudice.

There can be little question that the rather vast literature on race prejudice is dominated by the idea that such prejudice exists fundamentally as a feeling or set of feelings lodged in the individual. It is usually depicted as consisting of feelings such as antipathy, hostility, hatred, intolerance, and aggressiveness. Accordingly, the task of scientific inquiry becomes two-fold. On one hand, there is a need to identify the feelings which make up race prejudice—to see how they fit together and how they are supported by other psychological elements, such as mythical beliefs. On the other hand, there is need of showing how the feeling complex has come into being. Thus, some scholars trace the complex feelings back chiefly to innate dispositions; some trace it to personality composition, such as authoritarian personality; and others regard the feelings of prejudice as being formed through social experience. However different may be the contentions regarding the make-up of racial prejudice and the way in which it may come into existence, these contentions are alike in locating prejudice in the realm of individual feeling. This is clearly true of the work of psychologists, psychiatrists, and social psychol-

ogists, and tends to be predominantly the case in the work of sociologists.

Unfortunately, this customary way of viewing race prejudice overlooks and obscures the fact that race prejudice is fundamentally a matter of relationship between racial groups. A little reflective thought should make this very clear. Race prejudice presupposes, necessarily, that racially prejudiced individuals think of themselves as belonging to a given racial group. It means, also, that they assign to other racial groups those against whom they are prejudiced. Thus, logically and actually, a scheme of racial identification is necessary as a framework for racial prejudice. Moreover, such identification involves the formation of an image or a conception of one's own racial group and of another racial group, inevitably in terms of the relationship of such groups. To fail to see that racial prejudice is a matter (a) of the racial identification made of oneself and of others, and (b) of the way in which the identified groups are conceived in relation to each other, is to miss what is logically and actually basic. One should keep clearly in mind that people necessarily come to identify themselves as belonging to a racial group; such identification is not spontaneous or inevitable but a result of experience. Further, one must realize that the kind of picture which a racial group forms of itself and the kind of picture which it may form of others are similarly products of experience. Hence, such pictures are variable, just as the lines of experience which produce them are variable.

The body of feelings which scholars, today, are so inclined to regard as constituting the substance of race prejudice is actually a resultant of the way in which given racial groups conceive of themselves and of others. A basic understanding of race prejudice must be sought in the process by which racial groups form images of themselves and of others. This process, as I hope to show, is fundamentally a collective process. It operates chiefly through the public media in which individuals who are accepted as the spokesmen of a racial group characterize publicly another racial

* Read at the dedication of the Robert E. Park Building, Fisk University, March, 1956.

group. To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group. This is equivalent to placing the two groups in relation to each other, or defining their positions *vis-à-vis* each other. It is the *sense of social position* emerging from this collective process of characterization which provides the basis of race prejudice. The following discussion will consider important facets of this matter.

I would like to begin by discussing several of the important feelings that enter into race prejudice. This discussion will reveal how fundamentally racial feelings point to and depend on a positional arrangement of the racial groups. In this discussion I will confine myself to such feelings in the case of a dominant racial group.

There are four basic types of feeling that seem to be always present in race prejudice in the dominant group. They are (1) a feeling of superiority, (2) a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien, (3) a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage, and (4) a fear and suspicion that the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race. A few words about each of these four feelings will suffice.

In race prejudice there is a self-assured feeling on the part of the dominant racial group of being naturally superior or better. This is commonly shown in a disparagement of the qualities of the subordinate racial group. Condemnatory or debasing traits, such as laziness, dishonesty, greediness, unreliability, stupidity, deceit and immorality, are usually imputed to it. The second feeling, that the subordinate race is an alien and fundamentally different stock, is likewise always present. "They are not of our kind" is a common way in which this is likely to be expressed. It is this feeling that reflects, justifies, and promotes the social exclusion of the subordinate racial group. The combination of these two feelings of superiority and of distinctiveness can easily give rise to feelings of aversion and even antipathy. But in themselves they do not form prejudice. We have to introduce the third and fourth types of feeling.

The third feeling, the sense of proprietary claim, is of crucial importance. It is the feeling on the part of the dominant group of being entitled to either exclusive or prior rights in many important areas of life. The range of such exclusive or prior claims may be wide, covering the ownership of property such as choice lands and sites; the right to certain jobs, occupations or professions; the claim to certain kinds of industry or lines of business; the claim to certain positions of control and decision-making as in government and law; the right to exclusive membership in given institutions such as schools, churches and recreational institutions; the claim to certain positions of social prestige and to the display of the symbols and accoutrements of these positions; and the claim to certain areas of intimacy and privacy. The feeling of such proprietary

claims is exceedingly strong in race prejudice. Again, however, this feeling even in combination with the feeling of superiority and the feeling of distinctiveness does not explain race prejudice. These three feelings are present frequently in societies showing no prejudice, as in certain forms of feudalism, in caste relations, in societies of chiefs and commoners, and under many settled relations of conquerors and conquered. Where claims are solidified into a structure which is accepted or respected by all, there seems to be no group prejudice.

The remaining feeling essential to race prejudice is a fear or apprehension that the subordinate racial group is threatening, or will threaten, the position of the dominant group. Thus, acts or suspected acts that are interpreted as an attack on the natural superiority of the dominant group, or an intrusion into their sphere of group exclusiveness, or an encroachment on their area of proprietary claim are crucial in arousing and fashioning race prejudice. These acts mean "getting out of place."

It should be clear that these four basic feelings of race prejudice definitely refer to a positional arrangement of the racial groups. The feeling of superiority places the subordinate people *below*; the feeling of alienation places them *beyond*; the feeling of proprietary claim excludes them from the prerogatives of position; and the fear of encroachment is an emotional recoil from the endangering of group position. As these features suggest, the positional relation of the two racial groups is crucial in race prejudice. The dominant group is not concerned with the subordinate group as such but it is deeply concerned with its position *vis-à-vis* the subordinate group. This is epitomized in the key and universal expression that a given race is all right in "its place." The sense of group position is the very heart of the relation of the dominant to the subordinate group. It supplies the dominant group with its framework of perception, its standard of judgment, its patterns of sensitivity, and its emotional proclivities.

It is important to recognize that this sense of group position transcends the feelings of the individual members of the dominant group, giving such members a common orientation that is not otherwise to be found in separate feelings and views. There is likely to be considerable difference between the ways in which the individual members of the dominant group think and feel about the subordinate group. Some may feel bitter and hostile, with strong antipathies, with an exalted sense of superiority and with a lot of spite; others may have charitable and protective feelings, marked by a sense of piety and tintured by benevolence; others may be condescending and reflect mild contempt; and others may be disposed to politeness and considerateness with no feelings of truculence. These are only a few of many different patterns of feeling to be found among members of the dominant racial group. What gives a common dimension to them is a sense of the social posi-

tion of their group. Whether the members be humane or callous, cultured or unlettered, liberal or reactionary, powerful or impotent, arrogant or humble, rich or poor, honorable or dishonorable—all are led, by virtue of sharing the sense of group position, to similar individual positions.

The sense of group position is a general kind of orientation. It is a general feeling without being reducible to specific feelings like hatred, hostility or antipathy. It is also a general understanding without being composed of any set of specific beliefs. On the social psychological side it cannot be equated to a sense of social status as ordinarily conceived, for it refers not merely to vertical positioning but to many other lines of position independent of the vertical dimension. Sociologically it is not a mere reflection of the objective relations between racial groups. Rather, it stands for "what ought to be" rather than for "what is." It is a sense of where the two racial groups *belong*.

In its own way, the sense of group position is a norm and imperative—indeed a very powerful one. It guides, incites, crows, and coerces. It should be borne in mind that this sense of group position stands for and involves a fundamental kind of group affiliation for the members of the dominant racial group. To the extent they recognize or feel themselves as belonging to that group they will automatically come under the influence of the sense of position held by that group. Thus, even though given individual members may have personal views and feelings different from the sense of group position, they will have to conjure with the sense of group position held by their racial group. If the sense of position is strong, to act contrary to it is to risk a feeling of self-alienation and to face the possibility of ostracism. I am trying to suggest, accordingly, that the locus of race prejudice is not in the area of individual feeling but in the definition of the respective positions of the racial groups.

The source of race prejudice lies in a felt challenge to this sense of group position. The challenge, one must recognize, may come in many different ways. It may be in the form of an affront to feelings of group superiority; it may be in the form of attempts at familiarity or transgressing the boundary line of group exclusiveness; it may be in the form of encroachment at countless points of proprietary claim; it may be a challenge to power and privilege; it may take the form of economic competition. Race prejudice is a defensive reaction to such challenging of the sense of group position. It consists of the disturbed feelings, usually of marked hostility, that are thereby aroused. As such, race prejudice is a protective device. It functions, however short-sightedly, to preserve the integrity and the position of the dominant group.

It is crucially important to recognize that the sense of group position is not a mere summation of the feelings of position such as might be developed independently by separate individuals as they come to compare themselves with

given individuals of the subordinate race. The sense of group position refers to the position of group to group, not to that of individual to individual. Thus, *vis-à-vis* the subordinate racial group the unlettered individual with low status in the dominant racial group has a sense of group position common to that of the elite of his group. By virtue of sharing this sense of position such an individual, despite his low status, feels that members of the subordinate group, however distinguished and accomplished, are somehow inferior, alien, and properly restricted in the area of claims. He forms his conception as a representative of the dominant group; he treats individual members of the subordinate group as representative of that group.

An analysis of how the sense of group position is formed should start with a clear recognition that it is an historical product. It is set originally by conditions of initial contact. Prestige, power, possession of skill, numbers, original self-conceptions, aims, designs and opportunities are a few of the factors that may fashion the original sense of group position. Subsequent experience in the relation of the two racial groups, especially in the area of claims, opportunities and advantages, may mould the sense of group position in many diverse ways. Further, the sense of group position may be intensified or weakened, brought to sharp focus or dulled. It may be deeply entrenched and tenaciously resist change for long periods of time. Or it may never take root. It may undergo quick growth and vigorous expansion, or it may dwindle away through slow-moving erosion. It may be firm or soft, acute or dull, continuous or intermittent. In short, viewed comparatively, the sense of group position is very variable.

However variable its particular career, the sense of group position is clearly formed by a running process in which the dominant racial group is led to define and redefine the subordinate racial group and the relations between them. There are two important aspects of this process of definition that I wish to single out for consideration.

First, the process of definition occurs obviously through complex interaction and communication between the members of the dominant group. Leaders, prestige bearers, officials, group agents, dominant individuals and ordinary laymen present to one another characterizations of the subordinate group and express their feelings and ideas on the relations. Through talk, tales, stories, gossip, anecdotes, messages, pronouncements, news accounts, orations, sermons, preachments and the like definitions are presented and feelings are expressed. In this usually vast and complex interaction separate views run against one another, influence one another, modify each other, incite one another and fuse together in new forms. Correspondingly, feelings which are expressed meet, stimulate each other, feed on each other, intensify each other and emerge in new patterns. Currents of view and currents of feeling come into being; sweeping along to positions of dominance and

serving as polar points for the organization of thought and sentiment. If the interaction becomes increasingly circular and reinforcing, devoid of serious inner opposition, such currents grow, fuse and become strengthened. It is through such a process that a collective image of the subordinate group is formed and a sense of group position is set. The evidence of such a process is glaring when one reviews the history of any racial arrangement marked by prejudice.

Such a complex process of mutual interaction with its different lines and degrees of formation gives the lie to the many schemes which would lodge the cause of race prejudice in the make-up of the individual—whether in the form of innate disposition, constitutional make-up, personality structure, or direct personal experience with members of the other race. The collective image and feelings in race prejudice are forged out of a complicated social process in which the individual is himself shaped and organized. The scheme, so popular today, which would trace race prejudice to a so-called authoritarian personality shows a grievous misunderstanding of the simple essentials of the collective process that leads to a sense of group position.

The second important aspect of the process of group definition is that it is necessarily concerned with an *abstract image* of the subordinate racial group. The subordinate racial group is defined as if it were an entity or whole. This entity or whole—like the Negro race, or the Japanese, or the Jews—is necessarily an abstraction, never coming within the perception of any of the senses. While actual encounters are with individuals, the picture formed of the racial group is necessarily of a vast entity which spreads out far beyond such individuals and transcends experience with such individuals. The implications of the fact that the collective image is of an abstract group are of crucial significance. I would like to note four of these implications.

First, the building of the image of the abstract group takes place in the area of the remote and not of the near. It is not the experience with concrete individuals in daily association that gives rise to the definitions of the extended, abstract group. Such immediate experience is usually regulated and orderly. Even where such immediate experience is disrupted the new definitions which are formed are limited to the individuals involved. The collective image of the abstract group grows up not by generalizing from experiences gained in close, first-hand contacts but through the transcending characterizations that are made of the group as an entity. Thus, one must seek the central stream of definition in those areas where the dominant group as such is characterizing the subordinate group as such. This occurs in the "public arena" wherein the spokesmen appear as representatives and agents of the dominant group. The extended public arena is constituted by such things as legislative assemblies, public meetings, conventions, the press, and the printed word. What goes on in this public arena attracts the attention of large numbers of the dominant

group and is felt as the voice and action of the group as such.

Second, the definitions that are forged in the public arena center, obviously, about matters that are felt to be of major importance. Thus, we are led to recognize the crucial role of the "big event" in developing a conception of the subordinate racial group. The happening that seems momentous, that touches deep sentiments, that seems to raise fundamental questions about relations, and that awakens strong feelings of identification with one's racial group is the kind of event that is central in the formation of the racial image. Here, again, we note the relative unimportance of the huge bulk of experiences coming from daily contact with individuals of the subordinate group. It is the events seemingly loaded with great collective significance that are the focal points of the public discussion. The definition of these events is chiefly responsible for the development of a racial image and of the sense of group position. When this public discussion takes the form of a denunciation of the subordinate racial group, signifying that it is unfit and a threat, the discussion becomes particularly potent in shaping the sense of social position.

Third, the major influence in public discussion is exercised by individuals and groups who have the public ear and who are felt to have standing, prestige, authority and power. Intellectual and social elites, public figures of prominence, and leaders of powerful organizations are likely to be the key figures in the formation of the sense of group position and in the characterization of the subordinate group. It is well to note this in view of the not infrequent tendency of students to regard race prejudice as growing out of the multiplicity of experiences and attitudes of the bulk of the people.

Fourth, we also need to perceive the appreciable opportunity that is given to strong interest groups in directing the lines of discussion and setting the interpretations that arise in such discussion. Their self-interests may dictate the kind of position they wish the dominant racial group to enjoy. It may be a position which enables them to retain certain advantages, or even more to gain still greater advantages. Hence, they may be vigorous in seeking to manufacture events to attract public attention and to set lines of issue in such a way as to predetermine interpretations favorable to their interests. The role of strongly organized groups seeking to further special interest is usually central in the formation of collective images of abstract groups. Historical records of major instances of race relations, as in our South, or in South Africa, or in Europe in the case of the Jew, or on the West Coast in the case of the Japanese show the formidable part played by interest groups in defining the subordinate racial group.

I conclude this highly condensed paper with two further observations that may throw additional light on the relation of the sense of group position to race prejudice. Race

prejudice becomes entrenched and tenacious to the extent the prevailing social order is rooted in the sense of social position. This has been true of the historic South in our country. In such a social order race prejudice tends to become chronic and impermeable to change. In other places the social order may be affected only to a limited extent by the sense of group position held by the dominant racial group. This I think has been true usually in the case of anti-Semitism in Europe and this country. Under these conditions the sense of group position tends to be weaker and more vulnerable. In turn, race prejudice has a much more variable and intermittent career, usually becoming pronounced only as a consequence of grave disorganizing events that allow for the formation of a scapegoat.

This leads me to my final observation which in a measure is an indirect summary. The sense of group position dissolves and race prejudice declines when the process of run-

ning definition does not keep abreast of major shifts in the social order. When events touching on relations are not treated as "big events" and hence do not set crucial issues in the arena of public discussion; or when the elite leaders or spokesmen do not define such big events vehemently or adversely; or where they define them in the direction of racial harmony; or when there is a paucity of strong interest groups seeking to build up a strong adverse image for special advantage—under such conditions the sense of group position recedes and race prejudice declines.

The clear implication of my discussion is that the proper and the fruitful area in which race prejudice should be studied is the collective process through which a sense of group position is formed. To seek, instead, to understand it or to handle it in the arena of individual feeling and of individual experience seems to me to be clearly misdirected.

FILIPINO STEREOTYPES OF RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES*

JOEL V. BERREMAN

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This paper will report the findings of a research project carried out in the Philippines during the school year 1955-56. The study is a partial replication, in a different cultural setting, of the studies by Katz and Braly,¹ and by Gilbert² of the racial stereotypes held by a group of Princeton students. The primary purpose of the study was to identify the factors associated with stereotype consistency.³

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to insure replication of the essential features of the Princeton study, the procedures followed were basically the same as those of Katz and Braly. However, as will be noted, a refinement was introduced to overcome an unanticipated difficulty.

* An expanded version of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1957.

¹ Daniel Katz and K. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28 (October, 1933), pp. 280-290; and Daniel Katz and K. Braly, "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 30 (July, 1935), pp. 175-193.

² G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (April, 1951), pp. 245-254. Also of interest is the study by James A. Bayton, "Racial Stereotypes of Negro College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 36 (January, 1941), pp. 97-103.

³ The stereotypes reported in this, as those in the Princeton investigation, consist of descriptive terms representing the ideas or beliefs of the subject population as to the characteristics of specified categories of persons. This is a departure from the popular definition of stereotypes as *erroneous* ideas.

The Original Design. One hundred thirty students at the University of the Philippines were asked to list the traits they thought typical of each of six groups, namely: Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Spaniards, American Whites and American Negroes. No traits were suggested to the respondents. From those most frequently listed, and some others drawn from popular writings or suggested by Filipino colleagues, a comprehensive checklist was compiled. Finally, a number of traits from the Katz and Braly stereotypes were added to this list.⁴ The resulting 96 descriptive terms or phrases were then arranged in alphabetical order. This procedure is believed to have the double advantage of producing a checklist drawn from sources within the society being observed and yet using the method and including the crucial terms from the American study required for a valid comparison of the two.

The master list of 96 traits was then submitted to 480 students randomly selected from all schools and departments of the University of the Philippines with instructions to read through the entire list and designate, in turn, the five traits considered *most* typical of each of the six ethnic groups. The traits thus checked for each ethnic group were then tabulated. The procedure to this point was identical

⁴ Katz and Braly traits were included for the four stereotypes included in both studies if they appeared more than twice in the original free descriptions by the 130 students. It was assumed that those traits in the Katz and Braly study not listed more than twice were not in the usual Filipino vocabulary or were not associated with the designated peoples.

with that used by Katz and Braly and by Gilbert in the studies cited.

The Modified Design. The initial tabulation of traits selected by the respondents revealed a bias which led to a modification of the test form and a retest on a new and larger sample. The tabulation showed that 61.5 per cent of all traits had been drawn from the first half of the check list and only 38.5 per cent from the second half. A comparison of frequencies in the initial free listing of traits and in the selection of traits from the prepared list indicated that traits appearing in the second half of the alphabetical list were not being selected as often as expected. It thus appeared that the student respondents were inclined to find the five *most* typical traits within the first part of the list and thereby ignore the remaining traits.⁵

To avoid the above difficulty a new form of the test was constructed. It consisted of a shorter list of 24 traits for each ethnic group, composed of those traits most frequently listed in the original free descriptions and those most frequently designated from the larger alphabetical list. To be included in this shorter list a trait had to stand high (among the top 20 as a rule) in one of the two previous steps.⁶ These shorter lists were submitted to a new sample of respondents with the following instructions:

"The following descriptive terms have sometimes been applied to the (e.g., Chinese). Check all of these which you think are typical of the (Chinese) as a group. After you have done this go back over your list and double check the five traits you think are most typical."

Blank lines were provided for writing in additional traits. Separate lists were presented for the different groups.

Subsequent tabulations showed that no significant difference existed in the frequency of checking of traits from the first and second halves of these lists and it was concluded that the bias introduced in the first form had been eliminated. The results reported below are, therefore, those of the second test in which the revised form was used. The 12 traits most frequently double-checked for each group make up the group stereotypes. This test was given to 688 subjects consisting of 210 students in regular session at the University of the Philippines, 116 students in extension classes, 162 in summer session and 200 adults not in school. The student samples were again randomly selected but the

⁵ The writer wonders whether this effect might also have been present, and undetected, in the studies by Katz and Braly, Gilbert, and Bayton elsewhere referred to. It is evident that gross distortion can occur as a result of such differential attention to the various parts of any long measuring instrument.

⁶ It is recognized that the use in this revised list of traits of high frequency in the original check list runs some risk of carrying over to the new list some of the error already described. It is believed that such an effect is minimal. The concentration of choices in both the original free listing and in the first test was so great that it was necessary to include items of very low frequency in order to make up a list of 24 traits. It is highly improbable that any other traits could have been among the top twelve finally chosen.

adults were drawn on the basis of expediency from a number of parent, club, and work groups in Manila. No check was made on respondent reliability.

Again following Katz and Braly, the consistency of stereotypes was measured by the extent of agreement among respondents on the traits assigned to each of the ethnic groups.

STEREOTYPE PATTERNS

Stereotypes of the six groups, with the number and percentage of persons checking each trait, are shown in Table 1. Four of the groups were also included in the Katz and Braly study, (Chinese, Japanese, American Whites and Negroes) and the traits assigned to these groups by both Filipino and Princeton students have been marked with an asterisk.

Chinese: The Chinese are the most numerous of the foreign nationals in the Philippines (reported as 141,000 in 1954) and are almost exclusively an urban merchant class. There is a great deal of expressed prejudice against them and various laws limiting the economic activities of foreign groups are said to be aimed chiefly at the Chinese. They are perhaps the most inclined of all groups to retain their cultural identity and foreign citizenship. As an alien group of urban merchants the Chinese have a position in the Philippines not unlike that of Jews in Europe with whom they have frequently been compared.⁷

The stereotype of the Chinese reflects this situation. The traits of *business minded*, *industrious*, and *thrifty*, as well as good in *mathematics* are reflections of their business success. The last of these seems to spring from the belief that they are good at keeping accounts. *Clannish*, *very strong family ties* and *polygamous* perhaps stem from their social and cultural separateness, while such traits as *dirty*, *noisy* and *prolific* appear to be rationalizations of dislike for them, as it does not appear to an observer that they differ from Filipinos in these respects.

Only two of these traits were assigned to the Chinese by the Princeton students—*industrious* and *very strong family ties*. Prominent in the American stereotype of the Chinese are such traits as *sly*, *conservative*, *quiet*, *reserved* and *tradition-loving*, which are not attributed to them by Filipinos.

The conclusion seems indicated that where the Filipinos have considerable direct experience with a foreign group their stereotypes are related to that experience and little influenced by Americans. It should be noted that Chinese merchants entered the Philippines many hundreds of years before the Americans did.

⁷ Victor Purcell, *Chinese in S. E. Asia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951; and Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Minority Problems in Southeast Asia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

Japanese: There are almost no Japanese now in the Philippines. Attitudes toward them are therefore largely the result of their pre-war reputation and contact with them during the occupation.

A number of the traits attributed to them by Filipinos appear to reflect the impression made by occupation troops—*warlike, cruel, patriotic, nationalistic, aggressive, obedient to authority*, perhaps *industrious* and *low regard for women*. *Imitative*, a prevailing American conception of the Japanese, also appears in the Filipino stereotype, but *inventive*, which is perhaps its logical opposite is checked almost as frequently. Americans and Filipinos agree on 3 traits: *imitative, very nationalistic* and *industrious*. There is nothing in the Filipino stereotype to suggest the American notion that they are *shrewd* and *sly*.

Indian: The Filipino stereotypes of the Indian are headed by two traits of external appearance and several traits related to their characteristic occupations. *Bearded, hairy* and *wear strange colorful clothing* represent the former, and *business-minded, peddlers, trustworthy* and *wanderers* represent their occupational status. The small Indian minority of 1413 (1948 census) stands pretty much aloof from Filipino society and tends to be judged primarily in terms of appearance and occupational status. *Mystical*, apparently meaning "mysterious" to the Filipino, suggests a lack of intimacy. His beard makes him stand out from the relatively hairless Filipinos as well as from Americans and other Europeans who are generally smooth-shaven. The Indian costume, though not worn by all, is also conspicuous. Three occupations characterize the Indian group—

TABLE 1. NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS CHECKING THE TWELVE TRAITS MOST FREQUENTLY ASSIGNED TO EACH OF SIX GROUPS OF FOREIGN NATIONALS BY 688 FILIPINO SUBJECTS.

Traits checked	Number	Per Cent	Traits checked	Number	Per Cent
CHINESE			JAPANESE:		
1. Business minded	557	80.96	1. Industrious	*300	43.60
2. Good in math	336	48.84	2. Low regard for women	274	39.83
3. Industrious	*298	43.31	3. Bowlegged	263	38.23
4. Good cooks	297	43.17	4. Cruel	260	37.79
5. Noisy, loquacious	206	29.94	5. Athletic	219	31.83
6. Thrifty	206	29.94	6. Warlike	201	29.22
7. Dirty, not clean	167	24.27	7. Imitative	*199	28.92
8. Clannish	127	18.46	8. Patriotic, loyal	183	26.60
9. Patient	121	17.59	9. Very nationalistic	*172	25.00
10. Very strong family ties	*119	17.30	10. Aggressive	171	24.85
11. Prolific	107	15.55	11. Obedient to authority	145	21.08
12. Polygamous	97	14.10	12. Inventive	134	19.48
INDIANS:			AMERICAN WHITES:		
1. Bearded, hairy	373	54.22	1. Democratic	408	59.30
2. Wear strange clothing	317	46.08	2. Have race prejudice	235	34.16
3. Wanderers	247	35.09	3. Frank	204	29.65
4. Trustworthy (as guards)	232	33.72	4. Liberal	182	26.45
5. Business minded	228	33.14	5. Athletic	182	26.45
6. Mystical	182	26.45	6. Modern, advanced	*173	25.15
7. Fanatical	155	22.53	7. Luxury loving, extravagant	168	24.42
8. Smell bad	151	21.95	8. Good sports	158	22.97
9. Peddlers	138	20.06	9. Inventive	153	22.24
10. Very religious	130	18.90	10. Friendly	138	20.06
11. Clannish	130	18.90	11. Peace loving	125	18.17
12. Conservative	119	17.30	12. Pleasure loving	*122	17.73
13. Industrious	†119	17.30	13. Kindly, generous	†122	17.73
AMERICAN NEGROES:			SPANISH:		
1. Musical	*398	57.85	1. Aristocratic	486	70.64
2. Victims of prejudice	366	53.20	2. Very religious	316	45.93
3. Unattractive	288	41.86	3. Snobbish	259	37.65
4. Athletic	276	40.12	4. Have superiority complex	234	34.01
5. Industrious	237	34.45	5. Luxury loving	205	29.80
6. Have inferiority complex	205	29.80	6. Have race prejudice	177	25.73
7. Disliked	182	26.45	7. Domineering	175	25.44
8. Drunkards	145	21.08	8. Good looking	162	23.55
9. Brave, courageous	144	20.93	9. Inconsiderate	155	22.53
10. Fond of sports	137	19.91	10. Good dancers	145	21.08
11. Humble	126	18.31	11. Conservative	123	17.88
12. Strongly sexed	92	13.37	12. Hypocritical	114	16.57

* Traits also assigned to respective groups by Princeton students.

† Note that 13 traits are included in those cases where there was a tie for 12th place.

itinerant peddlers (wanderers), business men, and night watchmen or guards. The belief is widespread that Indians are exceptionally dependable as guards and they are preferred and widely employed in this occupation. *Smell bad* and *fanatical* appear to be the most distinctly derogatory stereotypes with little basis in fact. This group was not included in the Princeton studies.

American Whites: There were 10,070 Americans, exclusive of military personnel, in the Islands in 1948. This made them the second largest foreign minority. The proportion of these who are Negroes is extremely small. However, a considerable number of Negroes were in the military services during liberation and some are there now. American Whites and American Negroes were listed separately in this study partly to see whether the Filipino stereotypes would reflect those of American Whites or whether they would reflect direct experience with Negroes. Also, it was evident that the referent for American would be almost universally American Whites and unless Negroes were listed separately no clue would be derived from the study regarding the Filipino attitude toward them.

Differences between the Filipino and Princeton descriptions indicate that Filipinos do not see us quite as we see ourselves. Only two of the traits which they attribute to American Whites are also included in the American self-portrait—*pleasure loving* and *modern (progressive)*.

The term *industrious*, though assigned to four other groups by Filipinos, does not appear as a characteristic of American Whites whereas it tops the list in the Princeton studies. American *race prejudice* looms large to the Filipinos but no reference to it appears in the American self-portrait. In general, Americans appear to the Filipinos as a privileged group of nice people who are *democratic, frank, liberal, friendly, kind* and *good sports*. Our two faults are *race prejudice* and *luxury-loving extravagance*. They do not see us as the alert, ambitious, efficient, industrious, and aggressive individualists we fancy ourselves to be.

American Negro: In the Filipino's conception of the American Negro we find only one of the traits attributed to him by the Princeton students—*musical*. It does not seem, therefore, that the American stereotype has been simply accepted by the Filipinos. Rather, their conception of the Negro seemingly arises from their own observation and experience. The American attitudes are obviously recognized by the Filipinos and are reflected in their characterization of the Negro as the *victim of prejudice*, as *disliked* and as having a resultant *inferiority complex* and *humility*. The Negro appears to Filipinos as *industrious*, a trait they do not attribute to Whites and which is the direct reverse of the *laziness* attributed to him by Americans. The American conception of the Negro as *lazy, ignorant, stupid*,

superstitious, happy-go-lucky and *ostentatious* is not held by the Filipinos. *Bravery* is another trait assigned the Negro but not Whites. *Athletic ability* and *fondness for sports* are attributed to him, but at the same time, he is thought to be a *drunkard* and *strongly sexed*. These latter two derogatory traits were not assigned to American Whites nor do Princeton students so characterize Negroes.

Spanish: According to the Philippine census there are 2,176 Spaniards in the Islands. These are almost entirely of the upper class and many are wealthy landowners who have been there since the Philippines was a Spanish colony. It is probable that some Mestizos are included in the figure. The largest group, other than the landowners, is to be found among the Catholic clergy. Because political leadership is drawn almost exclusively from the small upper class, persons of Spanish or part Spanish origin often hold high prestige positions.

The traits attributed to the Spanish reflect their current social position and perhaps their behavior when the Philippines was a Spanish colony. They are *aristocratic, snobbish, domineering, have a superiority complex* and *show race prejudice*. The only admirable traits they have are *good looks* and *religiosity*.

The most surprising thing about this stereotype is that it comes from students who represent almost exclusively the small upper class of Philippine society which might be expected to identify itself with the class which the Spanish represent. It also comes from students who are overwhelmingly Catholic and whose attitudes might be expected to be favorably influenced by the Spanish clergy.

CONSISTENCY OF STEREOTYPES

By consistency of stereotypes we mean the generality of agreement on the attributes assigned to the various groups. It is a measure of the definiteness of the cultural stereotype shared by the respondents. An index of consistency was derived in the manner employed by Katz and Braly. It consists of the least number of traits which collectively received 50 per cent of the total possible choices for each group. The wider the disagreement on traits checked the more traits would have to be included to reach 50 per cent and the higher the index would be. Thus, low indices mean greater consistency.

Indices of consistency for the six groups are shown in Table 2 together with comparable indices for four of these groups obtained from the two Princeton studies.

It will be noted that Filipino stereotypes are generally more consistent than those of Princeton students. The Filipino stereotype of the Chinese is the most consistent and that of the American Whites is least consistent. However, the differences in consistency among the six Filipino stereotypes are relatively small.

Table 2. INDICES OF CONSISTENCY OF STEREOTYPES FOR SIX MINORITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND FOR FOUR OF THE SAME GROUPS AS RATED BY PRINCETON STUDENTS

	Philippines	Katz and Braly (1932)	Gilbert (1950)
Chinese	5.1	12.0	14.5
American Negro	5.8	4.6	12.0
Spanish	6.3	-----	-----
Indian	6.9	-----	-----
Japanese	7.0	10.9	26.0
American Whites	8.1	8.8	13.6

SOME CORRELATES OF STEREOTYPE CONSISTENCY

Before this study could be regarded as a valid cross-cultural replication of the American studies it was necessary to establish two facts: (1) that stereotyping is present in the Philippines, and (2) that it is indigenous. The data show that both conditions are present. As shown in Table 2, the Filipino stereotypes are even more consistent, i.e., more generally agreed upon, than those of Americans. The stereotyping process, therefore, occurs in both Filipino and American culture. However, the stereotypes are very much different indicating they are indigenous and not learned from Americans. Of the 48 traits attributed to the four groups common to both studies, only eight were applied to the same groups by both Filipino and American students. It may be presumed, therefore, that the stereotyping process occurred independently in the two societies.

Katz and Braly rejected the hypothesis that consistency of stereotypes is related to amount of contact and attributed it, instead, to learning of culturally established ideas about the groups.

An analysis of our data supports this generalization with some qualifications. Differences in consistency of Filipino stereotypes are slight despite great variation in amount, duration and range of contacts. The Chinese and American Whites are by far the largest and most widely contacted of the minorities listed. Yet, the Chinese are most consistently described and the American Whites least consistently described of the six groups. The American Negro, who is least known and most infrequently contacted of all, differs only slightly in consistency from the more numerous Spanish who have been well known for 300 years. Obviously some variable other than amount or length of contact is operative in determining stereotype consistency.

It is not enough to attribute differences in consistency to differences in the fixity of cultural definitions. Such an explanation merely avoids the issue for, admittedly, respondents will agree upon their answers if they have all learned the same things. The question, rather, is how to account for the existence of these fixed ideas in their cultural heritage and the differences in their consistency.

An adequate explanation of cultural stereotypes requires that they be accounted for in terms of their origins and the

factors affecting their change. Like any cultural myth, stereotypes are not wholly fictitious but originate in experience. It is true that they may be transmitted to, and learned by, persons who have had no contact with the members of the stereotyped groups. From what we know of culture generally we may also infer that cultural stereotypes are rarely transmitted wholly unchanged and that they are modified on the basis of the experience of their carriers.

As an hypothesis, therefore, we suggest that definiteness or consistency of cultural stereotypes is affected by the processes intrinsic to cultural transmission and by the nature and duration of contacts between their carriers and the members of the stereotyped groups. To be more specific, the consistency of a stereotype will increase with time if contacts with members of the stereotyped groups are restricted and their roles are limited.

Conversely, duration of contact will not increase consistency of stereotypes if the contacts are diverse and frequent and if the members of the minority group play a wide variety of roles.

As stereotypes, once formed, become embedded in the culture and are transmitted, they are subject to the processes of leveling and distortion described by Allport and Postman for rumors and legends.⁸ The leveling process, so clearly shown by those studies (i.e., shortening and simplifying) may be expected to increase the consistency of stereotypes in the process of cultural transmission. The more steps there are in the transmission the more leveling will occur until the stereotypes become brief and relatively stable. Thus, consistency may be expected to increase with the duration of contact. This will be most marked if the continuation of the stereotype is dependent almost entirely on cultural transmission, that is, if new observations and experience with the minority is minimal.

The accommodation which occurs in the case of unassimilated minorities generally results in a more or less fixed status, restricted roles and limited contacts. Experience which would otherwise tend to modify the cultural stereotype is thus reduced to a minimum. The high consistency of the stereotype of the Chinese in the Philippines and of the Negro in America are in accord with this principle. Both are segregated and play relatively fixed roles.

But in cases where, despite duration of contact, the status of minorities is not fixed, where their members play a wide variety of roles and where direct experience is frequent and varied, the cultural stereotype is likely to be modified by experience and will have less chance to become fixed. The leveling process is counteracted by frequent new observations and agreement as to characteristics will be less. The low consistency of the stereotype of American Whites illustrates this principle.

⁸ Gordon Allport and Leo Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor*, New York: Holt, 1957.

Although Americans have been in the Philippines for over 50 years their statuses are varied and changing. Filipinos contact them in a wide variety of roles. There are troops of all ranks and branches of the military services, government officials, advisers and experts, professors, missionaries, merchants, business men, technicians and tourists. Also, Filipinos see American movies almost exclusively. Such a variety of contacts tends to prevent the formation of a consistent cultural stereotype.

The high consistency of the stereotype of the American Negro requires further explanation. Here the status is fixed and the roles are limited, as in the case of unassimilated minorities of long duration, but by a different set of circumstances. There are very few Negroes in the Philippines and they are mostly service men of lower ranks. There are few government representatives or technical advisers and almost no business men, missionaries or tourists in this group. It is suggested that the consistent Negro stereotype reflects the very limited roles in which Filipinos have observed American Negroes. It stems from contacts that are so limited as to provide only a small range of descriptive concepts.

The low consistency of the stereotype of the Japanese likewise seems to contradict the above hypotheses. Virtually all Japanese were repatriated at the close of the war and Filipinos have had no contact with them for ten years. As students now at the average age of 18 were quite young during the occupation, we might expect that a well-defined cultural stereotype, unaffected by recent experience, would have become fixed. Table 2 shows, however, that it is less consistent than that of four other groups. There is not a single trait on which half of the respondents agree.

In accounting for this fact it may be noted that contacts with Japanese before the war were varied and not altogether unpleasant. Those during the occupation were such as to modify the pre-war conceptions but the wartime contacts were likewise highly varied. It will be noted that the traits attributed to the Japanese are not all derogatory. This variety of experiences appears to have resulted in widely differing conceptions of them which have not leveled out in the short period of ten years. The inconsistency of

the American stereotype of the Japanese particularly in 1950 is striking. Without attempting to account for this fact fully it may be suggested that the war in the Pacific gave rise to a variety of new ideas about the Japanese. These, combined with the more consistent pre-war stereotype, may have tended to broaden and diversify the popular conception of their character.

Thus, while no direct relationship exists between amount of contact and consistency of stereotype, the nature and duration of contact are important variables in its determination.

That most Filipino stereotypes revealed in this study are more consistent than those found among Americans appears to stem from two facts. The first is that the Filipinos studied represent almost exclusively the small upper class. The sub-culture of this class is both uniform and stable, and the contacts of members of this class with the minorities is subject to rather rigid social controls. The restrictive nature of their class structure renders Filipinos in our sample more homogenous in culture and in their range of contacts than the more individualistic American students.

The second point is suggested by Gilbert in the study cited. As shown in Table 2, the consistency of stereotypes held by Princeton students declined markedly between 1932 and 1950. This, Gilbert attributes in part to increased sophistication of the later generation of students in matters pertaining to stereotyping, racial and ethnic differences, and the like. Knowledge of scientific facts such as these has the same effect as does more varied contacts in that it provides another source of ideas about the minorities which not only contradicts the stereotypes, but makes the students wary of any generalizations whatever about such groups.

The writer is convinced by his experience in teaching Filipino students that they are as a rule considerably less sophisticated in this area of knowledge than the Princeton students of 1932. The same factors which made the Princeton students of that year more consistent than those of 1950 may account for the higher consistency of Filipino stereotypes today.

A SOCIOLOGIST LOOKS AT HISTORY*

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During the past five years, the adoption by the Ford Foundation and a number of social scientists of the term "behavioral sciences" as distinct from the old concept of social sciences has reactivated an old discussion of the relationship of the various social sciences to each other. As I understand the term "behavioral sciences," it includes most of sociology, psychology, social anthropology, a portion of political science, part of economics, and almost no history. Essentially, "the behavioral sciences" are supposed to include those disciplines concerned with the scientific study of human behavior. Much of political science is left out because it is normatively rather than scientifically oriented, and history is omitted because, for the most part, historians are not concerned with testing hypotheses within the framework of systematic social science theory.

I do not seek to defend this method of separating the social sciences between those which aim to develop systematic theory, those which are normative and those which are concerned with the explanation of the causes of relatively unique phenomena. Rather, I urge that the implicit cleavages subsumed in this division not be allowed to so intensify the feelings of men on different sides of the dividing lines that they can not contribute to each other's work. As an advocate within sociology of the need to study history, and accustomed to the use of historical factors as explanatory variables, I have felt that one of the major weaknesses in contemporary sociology has been its tendency to ignore historical factors in attempting to analyze social relationships. This bias stems, in part, from the assumptions of functionalist theory and, in part, from the fact that sociology increasingly prefers to work with quantifiable data.¹ Oscar Handlin gives us an illustration of the weakness of ahistorical sociology when he demonstrates how W. Lloyd Warner misinterpreted a number of patterns in his Yankee City series of studies of a New England community by relying on contemporary reports and ignoring the history of the community.²

* This paper was presented at a symposium held by the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association on "The Behavioral Sciences and History."

¹ For an elaboration of these ideas and a discussion of the relationship of sociology to history, see S. M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and J. S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 17-32, 393-400.

² See his reviews of two books of W. L. Warner and associates,

If the sociologist often errs by ignoring historical data, the historian often errs in the eyes of the sociologists by ignoring methods and concepts which are as available and useful to the historian as to the sociologist. Lee Benson, a Columbia historian, has pointed out that many political historians have attempted to explain political shifts in American history without doing the necessary research on easily available voting statistics.³ Much as the sociologist prefers to deal with quantitative data drawn from interviews, the historian seems to prefer qualitative data drawn from printed matter, diaries and letters. The "reasons" often given by historians for the defeat of a particular party may be tested through a simple statistical analysis of voting returns. We can find out, for example, how much of the shift to the Republicans in 1860 was a result of the economic depression of the late 1850's, or of shifts to the Republicans of Know-Nothing voters, as contrasted with those votes which came from areas which supposedly were concerned with the slavery issue. Research on pre-Civil War elections in the South indicates, for example, that up to and including the 1860 elections, the lines which formed around support of or opposition to the Jacksonian Democrats held constant. Specifically, Breckenridge secured the bulk of his votes from traditionally Democratic poor whites who did not own slaves, while Bell, the Constitutional Union candidate, got most of his votes in areas characterized by plantation agriculture, a high ratio of slaves, and a past tradition of voting Whig. In subsequent referenda and convention elections held in late 1860 and early 1861, however, the majority of the plantation areas which voted for the Constitutional Unionists, voted for secession, while the majority of the low slave counties, which backed the secessionist Democrats in the presidential election, voted for the Union. Analysis of shifts of sentiment and behavior of this kind provides firmer evidence regarding the trends and processes at work in the American population during the crucial years before the Civil War and raises questions concerning assumptions of a consistent relationship between party policies and

The Social Life of a Modern Community in New England Quarterly, 15 (September, 1942), p. 556, and *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 7 (November, 1947), p. 277.

³ Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in Mirra Komarovsky (ed.), *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, esp. pp. 114-115.

opinions of party supporters.⁴

Perhaps the best developed historical research seeking to analyze the patterns of continuity and change in voting behavior has been done by French scholars. There are a number of such studies in France which deal with voting patterns from every election in the second, third and fourth republics. A recent study, for example, traces the relationship between voting patterns in the election of 1849, immediately after the Revolution of 1848, and current allegiances to left and right parties.⁵ Clearly, comparable research is both possible and necessary for the United States.

In citing the case of electoral research, I am not trying to suggest that many American historians have not made sophisticated studies of political behavior. Manning Dauer's book, *The Adams Federalists*, and Dixon Ryan Fox's old study of New York politics, are but two of a large number of sophisticated researches.⁶ I am troubled, however, by the feeling among some historians that the quantitative methods pursued in the other social sciences have no applicability for history, and by their consequent discouragement of graduate students in history from taking courses in research methods which are taught in other fields. Quantification of historical data is, of course, not limited to electoral materials. Karl Deutsch has made a distinguished contribution in securing quantitative measures of the integration of national linguistic groups.⁷ Leo Lowenthal has shown how hypotheses concerning changing values in American society may be tested through content analyses of themes in popular fiction over a fifty-year period, while Wolfram Eberhard has analyzed the content of Chinese short stories over more than two centuries.⁸ The

techniques of content analysis have obvious applicability to many historical problems.

While the sociologist believes he might help the historian methodologically, he would like help from the historian to test some of his hypotheses about changes in social structure. Many social scientists have suggested hypotheses about the relationship of changes in the occupational and class structure to other institutions. It has been suggested, for example, that the development of a tertiary economy oriented around leisure and consumption has led to a change in many fundamental patterns such as child-rearing practices, the content of American religion, and so forth. Do C. Wright Mills', Erich Fromm's or David Riesman's assumptions about changes in social structure and personality make sense when subjected to the test of historical verification? I do not know, but it should be possible to test many of their assumptions and hypotheses. Detailed analyses of diaries and other autobiographical materials, analyses of ministers' sermons, and examination of newspaper discussions of how to raise children could undoubtedly tell us a great deal about such changes in American society.⁹ In effect, I am urging that we need more longitudinal studies of given institutions and behavior patterns which seek to locate and measure the types of changes which have occurred, and which are devised in the context of testing specific hypotheses. One example of such research is a forthcoming study by Sanford Dornbusch which seeks to test Riesman's hypothesis concerning an increase in other directed values by a comparison over time of appeals used in mass advertising. Sigmund Diamond's study of the treatment of leading American businessmen in their obituaries over a one hundred year period is yet another example of an attempt to locate changes in values.¹⁰ The recent studies of William Miller and Irene de Neu of the social backgrounds of American businessmen from the 1870's down to the present also illustrate the kinds of historical research which would add much to the sociologist's need for background knowledge about changes in American society.¹¹

The alliance of sociology and history can, I think, also benefit from the historian's using some of the concepts and research findings of sociology and other social sciences. One recent excellent example of such a marriage can be

⁴ S. M. Lipset, "The Election of 1860 and the Secession Referenda in the Southern States—Panel Analysis Applied to History," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, et al. eds., *The Methodology of Panel Research*, Glencoe: The Free Press, forthcoming.

⁵ "M. Labrousse has shown that a map of the elections of 1848—the first which took place in France under universal suffrage—if superimposed on one showing the results of the referendum of May 1946, is in large part the same." Francois Bourricaud, "France," in Arnold Rose (ed.), *The Institutions of Advanced Societies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958, p. 464; the same point is documented with regard to party voting by J. Bouillon, "Les démocrates-socialistes aux élections de 1849," *Revue française de science politique*, 6 (January-March, 1956), pp. 70-95. Perhaps the best illustration of the contribution of long term electoral research to an understanding of contemporary politics may be found in F. Goguel, *Géographie des élections Françaises de 1870 à 1951*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1951.

⁶ Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1919; Manning Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953.

⁷ Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953.

⁸ Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in William Petersen (ed.), *American Social Patterns*, Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956, pp. 63-118; and Wolfram Eberhard, *Die chinesische Novelle des 17-19 Jahrhunderts, eine soziologische Untersuchung*, published as Supplement ix to *Artibus Asiae*.

⁹ An example of such research may be found in Clark E. Vincent, "Trends in Infant Care Ideas," *Child Development*, 22 (September, 1951), pp. 199-209. In this study Vincent analyzed the literature of infant care from 1890 to 1949 dealing with "breast versus artificial feeding," and tight versus loose feeding schedules.

¹⁰ Sigmund Diamond, *The Reputation of the American Businessman*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.

¹¹ See Reinhard Bendix and Frank W. Howton, "Social Mobility and the American Business Elite," *British Journal of Sociology*, 8 (December, 1957), pp. 357-369, and 9 (March, 1958), pp. 1-14, for a detailed summary of a number of studies by historians and sociologists of the social origins of the American business elite from various periods in the 19th century down to the present.

found in Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform*.¹² Hofstadter has fruitfully used the distinction between class and status suggested by Max Weber to account for seemingly irrational political behavior on the part of the old American middle-class in the Progressive movement. David Donald, in analyzing pre-Civil War activities of upper-class individuals in the north, has found that by differentiating between those of old family background and *nouveaux riches* he could locate the "upper class" supporters of abolition among those "descended from old and socially dominant Northeastern families."¹³ That is, both Hofstadter and Donald have taken the kind of variables used by sociologists to account for differences in contemporary political behavior and fruitfully applied them to past situations. One can suggest many other comparable means of applying current distinctions. For example, recent research in sociology and social psychology has found that one must distinguish between so-called economic liberalism (issues concerned with the distribution of wealth and power), and non-economic liberalism (issues concerned with civil liberties, race relations and foreign affairs).¹⁴ Specifically, economic liberalism is correlated inversely with social status (the poorer are more leftist on such issues), while non-economic liberalism is associated positively with social status (the wealthier are more tolerant). I would hazard the prediction that this sort of distinction helps to explain the confusing pre-Civil War picture where the party of Jackson and the lower classes turned into the party least concerned with the evil of slavery, while the northern middle-class party, the Whigs, reacted against slavery; or the fact that Ely Moore, the first labor Congressman, became an ally of Calhoun. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the New York state constitutional conventions of the 1820's and 40's, the conservatives backed Negro suffrage, while the Jacksonians seemed uninterested or opposed to the issue.¹⁵

Examples of the seemingly fruitful specific application of sociological concepts and hypotheses to problems of historical analysis by historians may be found in work as diverse as an analysis of American frontier democracy by Elkins and McKittrick and a study of the sources of weakness in French economic development by David Landes. Elkins and McKittrick took ideas developed in the context of a sociological study of political participation in a contemporary New Jersey housing project and applied them

to the 19th century frontier, while Landes explicated some of Talcott Parsons' assumptions concerning the importance of focusing on value orientations in the study of economic behavior.¹⁶ Sociology, on the other hand, has taken over for its own use the concept of "third generation" behavior developed by Marcus Hanson and Oscar Handlin in their study of the history of immigrant and ethnic groups. These convergences in use of abstractions assume that concepts and hypotheses which have proved useful in explaining contemporary behavior should also, if they are valid concepts, be of help in analyzing past behavior. Of course, the historian often can not secure the same types of data which the sociologist may gather from living people, but on the other hand, he has access to much material which is unavailable to the sociologist.

Comparative History

In attempting to account for a specific pattern of behavior which exists in a given country, sociologists have found that they must engage in comparative research. Without examining social relations in different countries, it is impossible to know to what extent a given factor actually has the effect suggested for it. For example, if it is true that the German *Ständestaat* (rigid status system) has played an important role in determining the authoritarian pattern of German politics, how does it happen that a similar structure in Sweden is associated with a very different political culture? A comparison of researches dealing with social mobility in various countries in Europe and America suggests that much of Europe has had rates of social mobility comparable to those of the United States.¹⁷ How does this finding jibe with the analyses of different aspects of American culture which interpret these patterns as consequences of uniquely great social mobility?

These examples, of course, raise questions about some historical interpretations as well as sociological ones. History, particularly economic history, has long recognized that the study of national patterns benefits by comparing similar developments in different countries. Such comparisons enable the researcher to evaluate the significance of given factors which he uses for interpretative purposes. Though sociologists also recognize the importance of comparative analysis, much of their work in the study of national differences has dealt with on-going institutions and

¹² Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform From Bryan to F.D.R.*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

¹³ David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 33.

¹⁴ See G. H. Smith, "Liberalism and Level of Information," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 39 (February, 1948), pp. 65-81; H. H. Himan and P. Sheatsley, "Trends in Public Opinion on Civil Liberties," *Journal of Social Issues*, 9 (1953), No. 3, pp. 6-17.

¹⁵ See Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion; Politics and Belief*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957, pp. 189-190.

¹⁶ Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," *Political Science Quarterly*, 69 (September, December, 1954), pp. 321-353, 565-602; and David Landes, *Bankers and Pashas: Studies in entrepreneurial history*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

¹⁷ See S. M. Lipset and H. L. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility," in *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III*, London: International Sociological Association, 1956, pp. 155-177; a revision of this paper which contains additional data will appear in S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.

behavior patterns such as variations in family values. Much of contemporary sociology has neglected the lead set for it by Max Weber who explained differences in national character by specifying key historical events which set one process in motion in one country, and a second process in another. Weber, in fact, used the analogy of a dice game in which each time the dice came up with a certain number they were loaded in the direction of coming up with that number again.¹⁸ Thus to Weber, an event predisposing a country toward democracy set a process in motion which increases the likelihood that at the next critical point in the country's history democracy will win out again.

A current study by a former historian turned sociologist, S. D. Clark, offers a good example of the worth of comparative history for the comparative sociologist and also illustrates Weber's point about reinforcing historical decisions. Clark has been interested in accounting for the fact that Canada is a more conservative country socially than the United States. He believes that the explanation for this phenomenon (and I will not go into a discussion here of the evidence that Canada is more conservative) lies in the fact that the United States represents the outcome of a series of successful revolutions, while Canada represents the result of the triumph of the counterrevolution. Specifically, Clark points out that the American Revolution was also a Canadian revolution, but that the revolutionary forces in Canada were defeated. He finds a division prior to and during the War of 1812 comparable to that in the U.S.; that is, the frontier farmers were pro-American, while the merchants of the cities were pro-British. The fact that Canada was not annexed by the U.S. after 1812 represented a defeat for the revolutionary forces in Canada. Again, during the Jackson period in the U.S., Canada had its Mackenzie-Papineau rebellion which lost out. The agrarian upheavals and the Progressive movement of the U.S. had their parallels in Canada, but with less effect on the whole country, and the New Deal in the United States found its Canadian expression in a third social-democratic party which remains weak. Each defeat of the Canadian Left made the chances for subsequent triumph by a liberal movement less likely, while the victory of the progressive forces in the United States helped provide the base for further political reform at a later date. These differences also have been paralleled in the cultural area. The influence of conservative religion which was tied to conservative politics and the upper classes has remained stronger in Canada. Since the evidence of this study is not available in print, I do not ask you to accept these interpretations. Rather, they are an illustration of how looking at Canadian and American history, and seeing one as the triumph of counterrevolution and the other as the triumph of revolution casts a significant new light on each society which

would have been impossible without this comparative look. Without going into the details, I would also like to suggest that Walter Galenson's study of the reasons why the Norwegian labor movement was more radical than the Swedish one, which in turn was more radical than the Danish movement, is another example of the way in which, by looking at historical developments in more than one country, the events in each become more understandable.¹⁹ I think, also, that Australian social science has been enriched by the effort to relate the Turner frontier thesis to Australia.²⁰ That is, by being aware of the Turner thesis, Australians have been forced to look for explanations of events in their own country which they might otherwise not have looked for.

Polling Data

In an address to the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Paul Lazarsfeld called attention to the fact that the enormous quantities of information about public opinion now being gathered by commercial and academic polling organizations should be of great value to the historians of the future.²¹ Unlike current historians dealing with 19th century history, a historian of the twenty-first century or even the twentieth century will have available fairly reliable data about the state of public opinion. In evaluating Roosevelt's or Eisenhower's role in a foreign policy crisis, he will be able to know what the American people felt about the issue. He will be able to know how many people went to church in 1940, 1950, 1970, etc. He will know what they thought of McCarthy or school integration. That is, he will know these things if the data are available and if the questions he wants answered have been asked. At present, however, there is no guarantee that either requirement will be met. A great deal of survey material is destroyed every year and many questions of interest to historians are not asked. Historians should become aware of and active in the struggle to preserve survey materials. The ideal place for such storage is the library which now collects all sorts of printed and written materials that might be of use to historians. Unfortunately, no library to my knowledge has been sensitized to the need to retain survey materials.²² I am sure that if a committee of the American Historical Association were to be formed to make certain

¹⁹ Walter Galenson, "Scandinavia," in Galenson (ed.), *Comparative Labor Movements*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952.

²⁰ See Frederick Alexander, *Moving Frontiers: An American Theme and its Application to Australian History*, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1947.

²¹ See the section "History and Public Opinion Research: A Debate," in Mirra Komarovsky (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 242-278, which includes papers by Lazarsfeld and two historians, Joseph R. Strayer and Henry David.

²² For a discussion of this proposal and some of the problems involved, see Yorke Lucci, "A Center for Survey Research Materials," *Political Research: Organization and Design* [PROD], 1 (November, 1957), pp. 3-6.

¹⁸ Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 182-185.

that questions which might be of use to historians are asked in national surveys, they could secure the funds necessary for this purpose. But one condition for these actions is that historians, especially modern historians, become aware of the methods of survey research and analysis.

These suggestions concerning history are made in all humility and with the recognition that sociology has been

at least as backward in recognizing its need for collaboration with history, as historians have been in accepting the legitimacy of learning from sociology. If this paper has any theme it is that the intellectual concerns of many sociologists and historians can benefit greatly by an awareness and the use of concepts and methods employed by each discipline.

THREE CLASSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE*

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Perhaps one source of the difficulty and confusion that has beset the student of social and cultural change has been the failure to differentiate between significantly different types of social change. The major theorists have all treated social change as a unitary phenomenon. For the Marxist all change is the dialectical struggle between classes resulting from the dialectical change of the forces of production. Ogburn interprets all change as the accumulation of inventions, adjustment to inventions, and the diffusion of inventions. Or, all social change is explained as the result of the imperfect socialization of the future members of the society. A list of these alternate modes of explanation and interpretation could be extended to some length. The defenders of these various points of view argue as if there were only one correct answer to the entire problem of change. All change is regarded as either one kind of process or another.

A CLASSIFICATION OF CHANGE PROCESSES

The position taken here is that there are at least three basic and fundamentally different kinds of social change and that each requires a specific, and different, theoretical model. Moreover, these three types of change are found to be characteristic for three distinct types of social organizations.

The three types of social organizations are: first, those that reproduce similar organizations over a sequence of generations; second, those that do not reproduce themselves; and third, those that are built up out of reproducing and non-reproducing organizations. These three classes of systems will be referred to as *reproducing*, *non-reproducing*, and *mixed* systems.

Each of the above systems displays a characteristic process of change. A large number of reproducing organizations exhibits an evolutionary-like process of systematic drift. The non-reproducing organizations increase their

complexity, or reach their goals, through a learning and innovating process. The mixed system changes by a combination of systematic drift, learning and innovation, but the process is not the simple sum of the changes in its reproducing and non-reproducing components. When reproducing and non-reproducing types of subsystems are coupled to form a mixed system, the whole exhibits its own emergent properties and process of change. We will refer to these three types of processes as *evolutionary*, *innovating*, and *compound* processes.

Type 1. Reproducing Systems and the Evolutionary Process of Change. By a reproducing system is meant any open system that replaces itself by producing one or more copies of itself, these copies replacing themselves in a like manner. Biological reproduction is a familiar phenomenon, and individual organisms are examples of reproducing systems. Sub-human social systems such as those of the termite and honey bee are reproducing social units. A part of the activity of each colony or hive is devoted to the production of a new and similar social entity. Not only does the queen bee produce bees but the entire organized group cooperates in the production of several similar groups.

At the level of human social organization one finds some systems that are reproducing and some that are not. The family is the most familiar and clear-cut case of a human social system that is self-reproducing. A particular family has several children. Those that survive and marry establish new families that are more or less like the original. This is repeated down through a sequence of generations. Unlike the Hudson Bay Company, the Catholic Church, or the United States of America, a family is an organization with a relatively short life span. And unlike a corporation, church or national state, the family is much occupied with the task of establishing copies of itself. If a corporation such as General Electric establishes a new division the new unit remains an integral part of General Electric. On the other hand, while a new family may retain an old

* Paper read at annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, April, 1958.

name it frequently achieves a considerable autonomy. A new and independent unit has emerged.

The significance of the property of reproduction for the problem of social and cultural change is as follows. Any open system that has a relatively short life span and replicates itself in substantial numbers will show an evolutionary change over a series of generations. This is the case because open systems by their very nature can not produce exact copies of themselves. Environmental selection will always favor some kinds of variation and not others. Hence, over a long period of time the structure and behavior of the individual members of this class of reproducing systems will be different from that of their forebears. There will have been a change that was not planned or anticipated by the organizations concerned.¹

It is thus proposed that important aspects of the structure and behavior of human organizations of the reproducing type *do* change over long periods of time as the result of the environmental selection of variations. Nevertheless, this is not to assert that *all* social and cultural change can be represented as systematic evolutionary drift through a long sequence of generations. The two additional types of organizations to be discussed below exhibit rather different patterns of change and must be mapped and interpreted with different theories.

The truth of the assertion that some social change is of this evolutionary variety would seem to hinge on two questions. First, are there social organizations at the human level which do reproduce themselves over a sequence of generations; and, second, is there variation? These are empirical questions and affirmative answers seem safe enough. If the process of replication is imperfect, the environment being what it is, the class of systems will evolve, in one direction or another. Indeed, the social scientist may well marvel at the fact there is as much social and cultural persistence from one generation to the next as there is. The problem of persistence is at the center of structural-functional sociology and is one of the primary problems to which Talcott Parsons addresses himself. He is correct in pointing to imperfect socialization of the new generation by the family as a source of social change. Imperfect socialization is the source of at least some of the variation which, when subjected to environmental selection, emerges as long-run social and cultural change. However, such an explanation is appropriate only for a specific class of organizations and a specific process of change.

The theoretical and empirical work that might be carried on in this particular area of evolutionary change has been discussed recently in an article by R. W. Gerard,

¹ Such a population, to borrow the very descriptive phrase used by Edward Sapir, is involved in "a current of its own making. It has a drift." Edward Sapir, *Language*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921, p. 150.

Clyde Kluckhohn, and Anatol Rapoport entitled "Biological and Cultural Evolution."² The authors tell of the beginnings of their project in these words:

The group began with little more than a general conviction that the question of similarities between biological and cultural change deserved re-examination from a somewhat fresh angle. After some early unstructured discussion we decided that the carefully worked-out knowledge of population genetics might provide the most suggestive model from biology. We then turned to linguistics as representing the area in the cultural realm where—at least in phonology—fundamental units organized into a system have been firmly established, and examined phonological and phonetic evolution, searching for similarities with the processes demonstrated in Mendelian genetics.³

The authors state that they turned to linguistics because it was both a well-developed social science and because phonological change seemed unconscious, automatic, spontaneous, and hence intuitively like biological evolution. They conclude that, despite many unresolved difficulties, the similarities between population genetics and phonological change are numerous and real enough to warrant the construction of a mathematical theory.

The task of such a mathematical theory is to develop an axiomatization concerning the *duplication* of linguistic "organisms" and their *modification* throughout their "lives" and to derive what are essentially equilibrium theorems (analogous to determining the equilibrium representation of a gene subject to mutation, selection, and migration pressures). A mathematical expression derived for the equilibrium genetic distribution of a linguistic population could then lead to prediction concerning the evolutionary fate of such populations.⁴

The classification scheme offered here provides at least a partial explanation of why one finds a high degree of similarity between genetic and linguistic evolution. However, this similarity does not hold between genetic change and the changes taking place in modern corporations or national states.

A folk language, as distinct from technical languages, is a part of culture that is transmitted to a substantial degree from generation to generation in the families of a society. Because English is learned in and taught by the family it has evolved from Old English through unplanned modification, selection and migration. We would predict that a technical language, for example the binomial system of nomenclature in biology, would exhibit a different pattern of change. During the Middle Ages Church Latin followed a quite different trajectory of change than did the Vulgar Latin spoken in the families of Aquitaine, Bur-

² R. W. Gerard, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Anatol Rapoport, "Biological and Cultural Evolution," *Behavioral Science*, 1 (January, 1956), pp. 6-34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6. No attempt at a classification of change processes is made in the article.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25. (Italics ours.)

gandy and Italy. If this view is correct, and it is open to empirical verification, the representation and explanation of change in the specialized culture of a non-reproducing social system will require a model substantially different from the genetic type.

It should be emphasized that the applicability of this genetic model of socio-cultural drift depends upon the existence of a substantial population of the systems concerned and a long sequence of generations. It is a theory that can represent change as a continuous process because of the effect of a statistically large universe. In this connection it would be of interest to investigate the relationships between population size, increase, and decrease, and the rate of the evolutionary change of reproducing systems. Does the rate of drift increase with an increase in the numbers and degree of independence of the families in a society? These and similar considerations suggest a host of problems for the researcher in social and cultural change.

Type II. Non-reproducing Systems and the Innovating Process of Change. A non-reproducing system refers to any open system that does not create copies of itself as a part of its normal behavior in its normal life span. Industrial corporations, armies, navies, and universities are examples of non-reproducing social organizations. This type of a social system comes into existence as the result of the activities of an organizing individual or group. It can have a very long life during which it is much concerned with its own survival. It stores information about its past, it pursues goals, and it plans for the future. If it changes markedly it is not the consequence of an unconscious long-run selection of variations in a sequence of such organizations. The changes take place within the single lifetime of the one organization and are determined by the system's goals, successful and unsuccessful attempts to reach those goals, stored information that is both reportorial and operational, the structure of the network, negative feedback mechanisms, and so on. Because the change takes place within the life span of a single system it is a learning and innovating process of self-transformation. The structure and behavior of the system is modified by events that have occurred in both the immediate and remote past of the lifetime of the system.

It is assumed that self-regulating, self-organizing open systems are guided in their goal-seeking behavior by a trial and error process. Trials may be randomized in the early history of a system, or in certain situations for the mature system; but an organization of the trial process always emerges in a system that stores information. Correct trials are reinforced by their success. A negative feedback of information about successes for a number of trials introduces a probabilistic bias into the operation of the system so that the probabilities of various outputs change as a result of experience. However, if trials were organized solely in terms of the statistics of past successes eventually

the system would try nothing new. The freezing of successful trials must be countermanded to at least a limited extent. The loss of information (forgetting) probably accomplishes this to some extent for open systems complex enough to learn. If specific instructions are introduced into the program of the system that prevent the synthesis of all information into old familiar patterns, and give a priority to the synthesis of new patterns, then the problem-solving trials of the system will include some novelty. If the novel output is successful, negative feedback will reinforce the use of that particular novel pattern and support a pattern of novel synthesis. The system will have learned to innovate; and the act of innovating enables it to circumvent obstacles, reach its goals, and change its goals.

This can be illustrated in the case of the General Electric Company by reference to a change in operating rules put into effect in 1951 in a vast reorganization (innovating change) of the corporation. The heads of the one hundred operating departments no longer receive detailed job descriptions. The list of regulations has been shortened and left unstructured and open-ended. While this leaves the executive decision makers organizing the trials of the operating departments greater latitude for error, it also changes the statistical bias away from probable trials (old solutions) so as to increase novel trials. General Electric changed the rules governing decisions at the operating level in order to step up the over-all innovative capacity of the corporation. The company wants to be sure that it can change rapidly enough to meet the expansive and highly competitive markets of the 1960's.

In contrast to the evolutionary process of change which lends itself to analysis with a genetic model, the innovating process of change displayed by non-reproducing social systems would seem to require quite different models. The absence of a series of generations, and of large populations of these systems, precludes the possibility of constructing a genetic model.

Type III. Mixed Systems and the Compound Processes of Change. A social system that is made up of coupled sub-systems that are both reproducing and non-reproducing is a mixed system. Urban communities such as towns, cities, metropolitan areas, and national states are examples of mixed systems. Each is a system whose parts include reproducing organizations (families) and non-reproducing organizations (businesses, industrial corporations, colleges, service organizations, and clubs).

The couplings between reproducing and non-reproducing organizations in a mixed system are both one-way and two-way for interaction between systems may be unilateral or reciprocal. When systems are related by a two-way coupling they provide some of each other's input. Part of the environment (input) of the one is the output of the other. This is especially important for the study of mixed systems and their compound processes of change because

of the peculiar constraint such interaction places upon the trajectory of the system as it attempts to maintain a steady state. Social organizations connected by two-way couplings exercise a power of veto over each other's states. It is this phenomenon that gives rise to a process of change that can be distinguished from the two already discussed.

Consider an imaginary city composed of 10,000 families and four large industrial corporations, ignoring the other non-reproducing organizations for the sake of simplicity. The whole is a mixed system. Two thousand of the families are coupled directly to the corporations because a member of the family is employed by one of them. This means that a significant part of the input to those families comes from the corporations, and because these are two-way couplings a part of the total input of each corporation comes from the families. Neither has complete freedom of action in so far as the other is concerned. The state of each family is under a partial veto from the corporation. The same is true for the corporations *vis-à-vis* the families. Such a system might appear to be much more complex than either the reproducing or non-reproducing systems. This may or may not be the case. It will require further investigation to settle the issue. It is clear, nevertheless, that a complex social system such as a city, whose change from one state to another is determined by the interaction of different kinds of intercoupled subsystems, displays a pattern of development that is neither systematic drift nor innovating. A different qualitative and eventually quantitative model is needed for the effective analysis and prediction of this particular type of change.

If the social scientist concerned with the problem of social and cultural change is willing to take the general

system perspective, the present situation appears to be promising. A variety of qualitative, mathematical, and even mechanical models already available in such fields as genetics and cybernetics offer points of departure for the formulation and elaboration of theory. This would then make possible the derivation and verification of hypotheses about different classes of social organizations, their structures, behaviors, and the dynamics of their transformation from one state to another.⁵

Sociologists have long busied themselves with the construction of polar typologies designed to dichotomize social systems into two ideal types. *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, sacred and secular, or folk and urban, are among the familiar categories of this sort. These types of societies have been discussed at length in terms of institutions, social relationships, role and status configurations and kinds of social groups. When change is mentioned it is usually in terms of rate of change with the observation that folk societies change slowly and urban societies change rapidly. The possibility that these different types of societies exhibit distinctly different patterns of social change remains to be investigated.

The point emphasized here is that just as social systems differ so do the processes of social change. Moreover, certain kinds of social change go together with certain kinds of social organization.

⁵ The recent work of W. Ross Ashby will be particularly relevant in such an endeavour. The theory and mathematics developed in his most recent book provides one point of departure for the analysis of both the non-reproducing and mixed systems. W. Ross Ashby, *An Introduction to Cybernetics*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956. See also, "Design for a Brain," *Electronic Engineering*, 20 (December, 1948), pp. 379-383.

DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR*

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The recent publication of *The Sutherland Papers* may encourage further theoretical and empirical investigation of the most sociological of all theories which have been advanced to account for criminal and delinquent behavior—the differential association theory.¹ This is as it should be. For, though the theory has been criticized many times

and for many reasons, it remains a landmark in the repertoire of theories available to all who would understand this type of human behavior and, by extension of the argument, all human behavior. The theory has suffered too long by neglect, on the one hand, and by uncritical acceptance on the part of some who find in its tenets satisfactory answers to the problems it addresses. Recent theoretical and empirical studies by Cressey and Glaser stand as welcome exceptions to this statement.²

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¹ Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, revised by Donald R. Cressey, 5th ed., Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955, pp. 74 ff.

² Donald R. Cressey, "Application and Verification of the Differential Association Theory," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 43 (May-June, 1952), pp. 43-52, and "The Differential Association Theory and Compulsive Crimes," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 45 (May-June,

That Sutherland recognized criticisms and weaknesses in the theory, and that he wished to encourage inquiry directed toward solution of these problems, *The Sutherland Papers* can leave no doubt. Sutherland's address before the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, as retiring president of that organization in 1942, is a chronicle of intellectual honesty and curiosity rarely encountered amidst the academic folklore of personal impression and achievement.³ The failure of the differential association theory to have a *greater impact* on criminology and delinquency study seems at least partially due to the fact that the theory was available to most of us only in the crystallized form of Sutherland's *Principles* text. The long and laborious development of the theory, and his own doubts and qualifications regarding it, remained unknown to all but a few graduate students and colleagues who were privileged to work with Sutherland.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

We wish to focus attention upon a particular type of differential association—interaction with friends who are defined by adolescents as delinquent. Our data are drawn from both institutionalized and non-institutionalized groups of boys and girls. An earlier paper reported findings of the relation between measures of differential association and delinquency scales among the same institutionalized children as those studied in this paper.⁴ The present paper presents additional data relative to individual delinquencies for these groups, and analyzes data relative to these same variables among a non-institutionalized population.

The institutionalized populations were drawn from the State Training Schools for officially committed delinquent boys and girls in a western state. The data were collected during the month of February, 1955. Non-institutionalized boys and girls were contacted in three mid-west public schools approximately one month later. The mid-west schools were located in a small city suburban to a mid-west metropolis, a rural-urban fringe school population, and a small town community school.⁵ These populations and the

1954), pp. 29-40; Daniel Glaser, "Criminology Theories and Behavioral Images," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (March, 1956), pp. 433-444.

³ Albert Cohen, Alfred Lindesmith, and Karl Schuessler, (eds.), *The Sutherland Papers*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956, pp. 13-29.

⁴ James F. Short, Jr., "Differential Association and Delinquency," *Social Problems*, 4 (January, 1957), pp. 233-239.

⁵ For more detailed descriptions of these populations, see F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 326-331; F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil Olson, "Socio-Economic Status and Delinquent Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (January, 1958), pp. 381-389; and James F. Short, Jr., and F. Ivan Nye, "The Extent of Unrecorded Juvenile Delinquency: Tentative Conclusions," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* (forthcoming).

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data collecting procedures employed have been described elsewhere.⁶

For purposes of empirical investigation, differential association has been operationally defined as a process by which individuals come to have differential access to delinquent and/or conventional values through interaction with other people and with various aspects of the larger society. Our measures are specific, in relation to the variables specified by Sutherland, and general, with reference to the larger community, delinquent friends, and adult criminals. The variables of frequency, duration, priority, and intensity are defined for the purposes of our study in terms of four questions included in the questionnaire. These were:

1. Think of the friends you have been associated with *most often*. Were (or are) any of them juvenile delinquents? (1) most were —, (2) several were —, (3) very few were —, (4) none were —.
2. Think of the friends you have known *for the longest time*. Were (or are) any of them juvenile delinquents? (1) most were —, (2) several were —, (3) very few were —, (4) none were —.
3. Think back to the *first* friends you can remember. Were any of them juvenile delinquents at the time you first knew them? (1) most were —, (2) several were —, (3) very few were —, (4) none were —.
4. Have any of your *best* friends been juvenile delinquents while they were your best friends? (1) most have —, (2) several have —, (3) very few have —, (4) none have —.

Five other "general" measures of differential association were included in the questionnaire as follows:

5. Was there much crime or delinquency committed by young people (in their teens or below) in the community in which you grew up? (1) a great deal —, (2) quite a bit —, (3) only a little —, (4) none —.
6. Have any of your friends ever been delinquents? (1) most of them were —, (2) several of them were —, (3) very few of them were —, (4) none were —.
7. Are any of your present friends juvenile delinquents? (1) most are —, (2) several are —, (3) very few are —, (4) none are —.
8. Do you know any adult criminals? (1) many —, (2) several —, (3) a few —, (4) 1 or 2 —, (5) none —.
9. How well have you known criminals? (1) very well —, (2) fairly well —, (3) not very well —, (4) only knew their names —, (5) didn't even know their names —.

In addition to the responses obtained from answers to these questions, summary measures of differential associa-

⁶ *Ibid.*; also, James F. Short, Jr. and F. Ivan Nye, "Reported Behavior as a Criterion of Deviant Behavior," *Social Problems* (forthcoming).

tion were computed by grouping questions. "Specific differential association scores," designed to reflect the cumulative effect of our measures of frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of interaction with delinquent friends, were obtained for each of our subjects by adding together the numbers representing answers to the first four of these questions. "General differential association scores" were obtained by adding together the numbers symbolizing answers to questions 5 through 9. A "total differential association score," total only in the sense that it represents the cumulative score of answers to our nine questions, was then computed by adding together each individual's specific and general scores.

As stressed in a previous paper, respondents were instructed to define "delinquent friends" themselves, i.e., did they think of their friends as delinquents, and of their friends' activities as delinquent. We were interested in reality as perceived by our respondents, whether or not this perceived situation was in fact real. Such an approach is not without problems, but its advantages, from a social psychological point of view, were felt to outweigh these problems.

Data for this study were analyzed by means of Davies' coefficient of correlation for proportions (r_p),⁷ after first

cept in terms of possible theoretical significance, and then only very tentatively.

Items in the questionnaire concerned with delinquency, and the scales constructed from them, have been described elsewhere.⁸ In the process of scale construction, these data have been rescored following the Israel Gamma technique⁹ and scaled according to the Cornell technique.¹⁰

DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE DELINQUENCY SCALES

Table 1 presents correlations obtained between the specific variables of differential association with delinquent friends and the delinquency scales, for each of six age, sex and "official delinquency status" groups, i.e., institutionalized and non-institutionalized high school groups. Twenty-seven of the thirty correlations in this table are statistically significant at the .05 level or higher. All correlations support the differential association theory in that they are positive. From this table, the variable of *intensity* appears to have the most consistently high correlations with the delinquency scales, while *priority* tends to have the lowest correlations. Theoretically, we should expect intensity to bear the highest and most consistent relation to delinquency. Intensity is also the most subject to interpretation, and probably the most theoretically fruitful of the vari-

Table 1. CORRELATIONS (r_p) BETWEEN SPECIFIC COMPONENTS OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS AND DELINQUENCY SCALES: SIX GROUPS.

Components of Differential Association	Public High School				Training School	
	Boys		Girls		Boys	Girls
	Under 15	16 & Over	Under 15	16 & Over	16 & 17 yrs.	16 & 17 yrs.
Frequency	.153	.327†	.341†	.391†	.580†	.552†
Duration	.275*	.274†	.569†	.276*	.423†	.347†
Priority	.244	.308†	.370*	.172	.288†	.379†
Intensity	.525†	.344†	.450†	.444†	.580†	.473†
Total Specific Score	.355†	.538†	.420†	.341†	.581†	.606†
	(N = 80)	(N = 205)	(N = 103)	(N = 193)	(N = 125)	(N = 48)

* Correlation significantly larger than zero, at .05 level.

† Correlation significantly larger than zero, at .01 level.

grouping them into four-fold tables. Even though this procedure is crude, it is probably as refined as our instruments and these data warrant. Levels of statistical significance are indicated in the analysis as a control over unwarranted speculation in the interpretation of findings. This is especially helpful when measures are applied to samples of different size Ns, as is the present case, though assumptions as to randomness, constancy of populations, etc., are not met by the data. These data should not be generalized ex-

⁷ For a description of r_p , see Short, *op. cit.*, p. 237. The measure has a maximum value of 1.00, signifying a perfect correlation. We have followed the statistical convention of indicating a positive correlation with a positive sign, and a negative correlation with a negative sign. All correlations computed for this study are positive, but this distinction needs to be made clear.

⁸ See Nye and Short, *op. cit.* Scales for high school students include the following seven items: driving without a license; taking little things; bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor (including drinking in the home); skipped school without an excuse; sex relations with a person of the opposite sex; destroying property; defying parents' authority. The scale for training school girls included these seven items, plus "running away" from home and taking things of medium value. The scale for training school boys was an 11-item scale, including the previous nine items, plus taking things of large value and narcotics violations. These discrepancies arise because we experimented with various scales and the differential association analysis extended over this period of experimentation.

⁹ As described in Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954, chapter 18.

¹⁰ See Samuel A. Stouffer and associates, *Measurement and Prediction*, Vol. IV of *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.

ables. Time and space requirements do not permit theoretical elaboration at this point.

Table 2 presents correlations between the more general measures of differential association and the delinquency scales for our six groups. Thirty-four of the 36 correlations in this table are statistically significant, and all are supportive of the differential association theory. Questions relative to "friends" on this table tend to have the highest correlations with involvement in delinquency, as reflected by our scales.

Correlations of Total Differential Association Scores with the delinquency scales are presented in Table 3. Correlations are all positive, high, and statistically significant. A slight cumulative effect of these measures is apparent among the three groups of boys and among the younger high school girls.

too small a group (19 girls) for computational purposes.

Table 4 may be interpreted in several ways. There is, for example, considerable variation in the proportion of measures which are statistically significant for the seven groups studied. Eighty-one of the 96 correlations (84.4 per cent) computed for the older Training School boys are significant. A high percentage of the measures computed for the older high school boys is likewise significant (70.7 per cent). In contrast to this, the corresponding percentage for the younger Training School boys is only 31.9 per cent. For the younger high school boys it is 25 per cent; younger high school girls, 43.2 per cent; and for the older high school girls, 35.6 per cent. These figures are changed only slightly when the offenses reported by less than 5 per cent of each group are eliminated from the comparison. Thus, association with delinquent friends appears to be especially

Table 2. CORRELATIONS (r_p) BETWEEN GENERAL COMPONENTS OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS AND DELINQUENCY SCALES: SIX GROUPS.

Components of Differential Association (Measures 5-9)	Public High School				Training School	
	Boys		Girls		Boys	Girls
	Under 15 (N = 80)	16 & Over (N = 205)	Under 15 (N = 103)	16 & Over (N = 193)	15 & 17 yrs. (N = 125)	16 & 17 yrs. (N = 48)
Delinquency in the community	.346†	.318†	.367†	.187*	.404†	.279*
Delinquent friends	.173	.425†	.313†	.313†	.613†	.400†
Present delinquent friends	.320*	.273†	.503†	.502†	.447†	.501†
Know adult criminals?	.328*	.315†	.347†	.285†	.446†	.286*
Know adult criminals well	.382*	.311†	.310†	.364†	.352†	.164
Total General Score	.417†	.477†	.395†	.575†	.679†	.393†

* Correlation significantly larger than zero, at .05 level.

† Correlation significantly larger than zero, at .01 level.

Table 3. CORRELATIONS (r_p) BETWEEN TOTAL SCORES OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION AND DELINQUENCY SCALES: SIX GROUPS.

Group	r_p *
Public High School Boys, Under 15 years	.718
Public High School Boys, 16 years and over	.578
Public High School Girls, Under 15 years	.496
Public High School Girls, 16 years and over	.427
Training School Boys, 16-17 years	.672
Training School Girls, 16-17 years	.506

* All correlations significantly larger than zero, at .01 level.

ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS AND DELINQUENCIES: THE FOUR VARIABLES

Our differential association measures were correlated, also, with each delinquency upon which we have information from our respondents. Because these computations involve more than 2,000 correlations and Chi squares,¹¹ they are presented in summary form and for the specific variables only. Table 4 presents these data for seven groups. Training School girls under the age of 15 years comprised

¹¹ X² was employed when fewer than 5 observed cases appeared in any one cell, but where at least 5 expected cases appeared. In instances where fewer than 5 expected cases appeared in any one cell, no computation was made.

important to the delinquent behavior of older boys, whether institutionalized or non-institutionalized. Further comparisons indicate that 53.8 per cent of all measures for boys are significant, as compared to 42.7 per cent of such measures for girls. Also, more of the correlations are significant for training school students than for high school students (53.2 per cent as compared to 44.1 per cent).

From Table 4 the relative significance of the four variables, as measured, can be obtained. *Intensity* has the highest percentage of significant correlations among all correlations computed (54.1 per cent). *Priority* is lowest, with 44.7 per cent, with *frequency* (49.7 per cent) and *duration* (47.8 per cent) falling between these extremes. These fig-

ures are affected almost none at all by the offenses reported by less than 5 per cent of any group.

It is obvious that these measures are not mutually exclusive; nor are the variables they purport in some degree to measure. That is, friends with whom one has interacted most frequently may well be those whom one has known the longest time, and *vice versa*. Friends with whom one

has been associated most often are likely, also, to be the friends with whom the most intense relationship has been maintained—and this is particularly true when these friends have also been known for the longest time. Priority would seem, also, to be most effective when combined with one or more of the other three variables.

The offenses under study vary considerably in their re-

Table 4. VARIABLES OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS AND DELINQUENCIES: SUMMARY OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SEVEN GROUPS.*

Type of Delinquency	Public High School				Training School			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	Under 15 (N = 81)	16 & Over (N = 204)	Under 15 (N = 102)	16 & Over (N = 190)	Under 15 (N = 40)	16 & Over (N = 152)	16 & Over (N = 64)	
Driven a car without a license or permit.....	D	—	—	—	I	P F D I	P F	
Skipped school.....	D I	P F D I	F D I	P F I	P D I	P F D I	—	
Had fist fight—one person.....	—	P F D I	F I	—	—	P F D I	P	
"Run away" from home.....	P F	F D I	P	I	—	P F D I	I	
School probation, expuls.....	Da	P F D I	Da	F D Ia	F	P F D I	P I	
Defied parents' authority.....	—	F D I	—	F	P	F D I	P F D	
Driven too fast, recklessly.....	D	D	D I	F I	—	P F D I	P F D	
Stealing little things (worth less than \$2).....	P I	P F I	F D I	F I	P F I	P F D	F	
Stealing things of medium value (\$2-\$50).....	P F I	P F D I	P Da	—a	P F D I	P F I	P F D I	
Stealing things of large value (over \$50).....	F Ia	P F D Ia	—a	—a	I	P F D I	P F D I	
Used force (strong-arm methods) to get money from another person.....	—ab	P F D I	—ab	—ab	P F	P F D I	P I	
Taken part in "gang fights".....	F D I	P F D I	F D I	P F D I	P F I	P F D I	F I	
Taken a car for a ride without owner's knowledge.....	—ab	P F D I	Da	D	—	P F D I	P F	
Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor (include home).....	I	F D	F D I	F D I	P F D I	P F D I	P F D I	
Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor (outside home).....	—	P F D I	P F D I	F D I	P F D I	P F D I	P F	
Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor (in own home).....	—	—	D	F I	—	P I	—	
Property damage.....	D	F D I	P D I	F I	—	P F D I	P F D I	
Used or sold narcotic drugs.....	—ab	—ab	—ab	—ab	Pb	P F D I	P D I	
Had sex relations with person of same sex (not masturbation).....	—	F I	—	—	—	—	—	
Had sex relations with person of opposite sex.....	—	P F D	I	F I	—	I	P F D I	
Hunting, fishing without license (or other game laws).....	P	—	P D I	D	—	D	P	
Taken things you didn't really want, etc.....	P	F D I	—	—a	—	P F D I	P	
Beat up on kids who hadn't done anything to you.....	—	P F D I	F D I	P Ia	P	P F D I	—	
Hurt someone just to see them squirm.....	—	F D	D I	—	P	P F D I	I	

* All relationships are significant .05 level or higher. P F D I stand for Priority, Frequency, Duration, and Intensity, respectively.

a Less than 5 per cent of this group reported committing this offense.

b Relationships not computed for some or all measures because of too small numbers in one or more categories.

lation to differential association with delinquent friends. Thus, only two of 28 measures of association in Table 4 are significantly related to homosexual relations, and only 5 out of 28 to drinking in the home. Other especially "low" offenses in this regard are driving without a license and game violations. In contrast to these, property offenses, gang fights, drinking outside the home, and narcotics violations are closely related to association with delinquent friends in a high percentage of the cases tested. Twenty-three out of 28 measures are significant at the .05 or higher level for "gang fights." Twenty of 28 measures are significant for stealing medium things, and this is raised to 90 per cent (18 out of 20 measures) when the groups of which fewer than 5 per cent admit this offense are eliminated. In general, it may be said of these findings that they are consistent with differential association theory. Driving without a license, particularly while learning to drive, often with parents, is so common that it is not dependent upon association with delinquent friends. Homosexual relations are subject to much interpretation, some forms being considered as "normal" in the process of growing up. Game violations of a minor sort are virtually universal among sportsmen and so would not be expected to be especially closely related to differential association with delinquent friends. Drinking in the home would appear to be related to parental expectations and attitudes rather than association with delinquent friends. On the other hand, the offenses with the *highest* proportions of significant relations to association with delinquent friends are more seriously regarded.

Summary differential association scores for the four age and sex groups among high school students and for the older training school students were also correlated with these delinquencies. Omitting all those delinquencies for any group which were admitted by fewer than 5 per cent of that group, the findings were as follows: significant correlations (at the .05 level or higher) were obtained for all of the offenses on the part of the older training school boys.¹² Ninety-two per cent of all correlations computed for

¹² With the exception of the correlations for homosexual rela-

the older high school boys were significant, 50.9 per cent for the younger high school boys, 53.7 per cent for the younger high school girls, 62.7 per cent for the older high school girls, and 61 per cent for the older training school girls.

Findings relative to individual offenses are similar to those summarized in Table 4, except that more significant correlations are found. This apparently reflects in some measure the cumulative effects of the summary scores.

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of all these correlations, we are reminded of Phaedrus' mountain which, are are told, "was in labor making dreadful noises, and there was in the region great expectation. After all, it brought forth a mouse." But, such is research—and so must we labor.

On the basis of the findings reported here and elsewhere, it is clear that the theory of differential association is a promising source of hypotheses regarding delinquent behavior and that it warrants continued and extended empirical and theoretical analysis. The uniformities identified in the data examined in this study represent a number of significant relationships. Further, any findings resulting from a study of differential association should contribute to the more general theoretical problem of the relationship between behavior and the social structure. Such work is in progress. Other dimensions of differential association under study include non-delinquent associations, leadership and followership patterns, areas of agreement, differential identification, and self conceptions. Hopefully, greater precision and insight into the theory may be discovered, and others may be persuaded, either by positive or negative appraisal of these efforts, to take up the empirical gauntlet.

tions, all of these correlations were significant at the .01 level. Summary differential association scores were not computed for the younger training school boys, nor for training school boys and girls over the age of 17 years. This is due to the fact that these data were processed in preparation for the earlier published article. See Short, *op. cit.*

EMANCIPATION FROM PARENTS AND COURTSHIP IN ADOLESCENTS*

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The contrast between the relatively small, emotionally intense American family which must be broken up when children reach adulthood, and the large, more emotionally relaxed families found in many simple societies which are

not under pressure to atomize has been remarked by Parsons.¹ He suggests that in the American family relatively few and intense emotional relationships are found while

* An enlarged version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, April, 1958.

¹ Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," in his *Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 233-250.

at the same time there is a necessity to drastically attenuate these ties at the time of departure of children from the home. The son leaves in pursuit of career prospects elsewhere and the daughter departs at marriage, if not before. Parsons believes this stressful combination of necessarily short-lived, though intense, ties may have given rise to a "weaning mechanism" within the society to aid emancipation of the adolescent from his intense family attachments. He believes that such a "device" may lie in the romantic subculture carried by adolescent peer groups. These groups tend to encourage orientation toward peer, rather than toward parental, norms and expectations, and may intensify certain kinds of parent-adolescent tension which could further the emancipation of the adolescent from his family.

Parsons sees this romantic subculture as an inevitably progressive and self-liquidating mechanism. Allegiance and orientation tend to be slowly and progressively transferred from family to peers, from peers to steady date, to fiancé, and inescapably to mate because the dominant subcultural theme is romanticism. As a consequence of the importance of this theme, adolescents expect to be preoccupied with love life concerns and to fall in love. This expectation acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy.² Since the romantic cult stipulates that when people fall in love they "get married and live happily ever after," the advanced adolescent, in love, eventually gets married. With this step he inevitably terminates his relationship with the peer group and begins to struggle with the problems of family support and "keeping up with the Joneses" which will continue to occupy him until retirement.

We do not know of any empirical test which has yet been made of this engaging and plausible sounding account. In the study herein reported we tested the hypothesis "Emancipation from the parental home will tend to accompany increasing involvement in the peer group subculture." Following Parsons' analysis outlined above, participation in the adolescent subculture is seen as a weaning of the adolescent away from his family of orientation. In consequence, the adolescent experiences a new, perhaps overcritical, objectivity towards his parents. This is a cumulative, disillusioning process: the more criticisms he admits the more he is able to see.

METHOD

The Instruments. Two instruments were needed to test this hypothesis: an index of weaning and an index of participation in the adolescent subculture. The former index involved testing the subjects' willingness to repudiate various aspects of their parents' marriages. It was felt that "weaning" could be most conveniently measured as a process of alienation from uncritical acceptance of one's par-

ents' marriage to a more critical viewpoint. There is no suggestion here that this process of alienation is the only form of weaning, but we do suggest that alienation may be used as *one* index of weaning. A list of criticisms of parents' marriage was drawn up after study of over one hundred student essays on the theme "How would you want your own married life to differ from that of your parents?" The index in its final form consisted of the prefacing statement: "I would want my own married life to differ from that of my parents in the following ways:" followed by a list of ten desired improvements, such as:

Father to participate more in family life with wife and children.
More understanding between parents and children.
Mother: to be more patient with husband and children.
Less quarreling between husband and wife.

Three indices of participation in the youth subculture were used. The simplest one involved the assumption that the more advanced one's courtship status at the time of the survey, the greater the involvement in the peer group subculture. Thus current courtship status was the index of involvement used. This assumption may be justified by reference to Parson's suggestion that the romantic subcultural ideal is the isolated couple in romantic love.³ Here we would predict that those who, at the time of the survey, were more advanced in courtship status would be more critical of their parents' marriages than those less advanced in courtship status.

The second index of participation in the youth subculture was a romanticism scale. This ten-item scale consisted of items selected from the Gross Romanticism Scale⁴ for their discriminability between high and low romanticism subjects and also on the basis of ratings by family sociologist raters. Use of romanticism scores as indices of participation in the youth subculture may be justified by Parsons' emphasis that romanticism is the dominant theme of the youth subculture.⁵ Thus people deeply immersed in the youth subculture would be expected to exhibit many romantic beliefs and, our hypothesis predicts, to be highly critical of their parents' marriages. Those but marginally involved in this subculture would have fewer romantic beliefs and fewer criticisms.

A third index of participation in the youth subculture was also used: previous occupancy of the "going steady" and engagement statuses. This we conceive as indexing depth of exposure to the youth subculture. Those more sensitive to the romantic love emphasis of the subculture have responded by "going steady" or becoming engaged. They would be more critical of their parents' marriages, we pre-

² *Op. cit.*

² Robert K. Merton, "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 179-195.

⁴ Llewellyn Gross, "A Belief Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes Toward Romanticism," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (October, 1944), pp. 463-472.

⁵ *Op. cit.*

dicted, than those who had not demonstrated their deep involvement in the youth subculture in this way.

The Sample. Strenuous efforts were made to obtain a 100 per cent sampling of the 923 undergraduate students together with their off-campus relationship partners—dates, fiances, and mates—at a West Coast, sectarian, co-educational college. Returns were actually obtained from three out of every four students and from the same proportion of their off-campus partners. The “sample” consisted of 831 subjects, 250 of whom were in the “no-particular-date” category, 180 were “favorite-daters,” 159 were “going steady,” 122 were engaged, and 120 were married subjects. Twelve of the 831 returns could not be used in the present analysis because of incomplete responses. Analysis showed that freshmen men, senior women and senior men were under represented in this group. No significant differences were found between subjects at various courtship stages other than age differences. Younger subjects were more frequently non-daters, or favorite daters, and older subjects were more frequently married. Thus, perhaps we are justified in making the assumption, necessary in a cross-sectional study, that subjects at each courtship stage are generally comparable in characteristics other than age, and that the non-daters will thus tend as a group to be like the engaged subjects, for example, when they become engaged.

THE FINDINGS

The data for testing the relationship between criticism of parents' marriage tendency and the first index of participation in the youth subculture, current courtship status, are found in Table 1. This table gives the mean criticism scores for subjects by sex, by current courtship status, and by previous courtship experience. The data show that the hypothesis may be accepted for male subjects, but that it must be rejected for female subjects. The data for male subjects show that the no-particular-date men who *did not* name any dating partner, thus reflecting least involvement in the dating-courtship pattern, made significantly fewer criticisms than did the no-particular-date men who *did* name a dating partner, thus reflecting some involvement in the dating-courtship pattern. Favorite-date men made significantly fewer criticisms of their parents' marriages than did engaged men or married men, a finding again in conformity with the prediction of the hypothesis. Thus all of the statistically significant differences for male subjects involving current courtship status of subjects shown in the table are in conformity with the hypothesis. None of the differences between mean parental criticism scores for current female courtship status groups are statistically significant.

The test of the relationship between rejection of parents' marriage and the second index of participation in the youth subculture, subscribing to romantic statements, did not

Table 1. SCORES INDICATING SUBJECTS' CRITICISM OF THEIR PARENTS' MARRIAGES, BY SEX, COURTSHIP STAGE, AND COURTSHIP EXPERIENCE, WITH CRITICAL RATIOS, AND MEAN AGES

Group No.	Courtship Stage	N	Male Mean Age	M	Female	
					N	M
1	TOTAL	387		3.39	432	2.94
2	No particular date—Total	117	20.17	3.21	123	3.31
3	Without partner*	75	19.81	2.77	89	3.15
4	With partner†	42	20.79	4.02	34	3.72
5	Favorite dating—Total	82	19.96	2.92	103	2.71
6	No particular date and favorite date—Total	199	20.08	3.07	226	3.04
7	Never going steady or engaged	48	19.60	2.31	41	2.78
8	Past going steady, never engaged	138	20.01	3.11	151	2.89
9	Past engaged	13	22.62	5.77	34	3.68
10	Going steady—Total	74	20.58	3.08	83	2.69
11	Engaged—Total	55	22.04	4.21	65	2.95
12	Going steady and engaged Total	129	21.21	3.56	148	2.80
13	Subjects ever going steady	280	20.68	3.44	333	2.93
14	Subjects ever engaged	81	22.01	4.47	114	3.20
15	Subjects never engaged	247	20.04	2.92	260	2.83
16	Married—Total	59		3.88	58	3.25

* No dating partner reported

† Dating partner reported

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN DIFFERENT MEANS

Male Numbers of groups compared	C.R.	Female Numbers of groups compared	C.R.
3 & 4	2.23	None pertinent over 1.50	
5 & 11	2.93		
7 & 8	1.95		
7 & 13	2.90		
14 & 15	3.49		
7 & 9	3.76		
8 & 9	3.00		
(7 & 8) & 9	3.17		
5 & 16	2.04		

yield any supporting results. Product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated between the Gross Romanticism item scores and rejection-of-parents'-marriage scores for all subjects classified by sex, current courtship status, and past courtship experience. A total of twelve *r*'s were calculated. Only one was significant at the five per cent level of confidence or beyond: a correlation of .27 for thirty-four no-particular-date girl subjects who did not report dating partners. We conclude that there is no relationship between the tendency to agree with romantic statements and statements indicating criticism of one's parents.

The third index of participation in the youth subculture used in this study was past courtship experience. Our hypothesis here is that those who have responded to the romantic appeal of the youth subculture by “going steady” or by becoming engaged will be more critical of their par-

ents' marriages as a result of the emancipating or weaning consequences of such an experience than will those who have never had such an experience. The data for testing this hypothesis are found in Table 1. Again the data support the hypothesis for males but do not support the hypothesis for female subjects. Of the males who at the time of the survey were only casual dating or favorite dating, those who had never experienced a "going steady" relationship were significantly less critical of their parents' marriages than were those who had experienced such a relationship. There were only thirteen male subjects in this group who had in the past been engaged, but the mean criticism score of this group was very significantly higher than was the mean criticism score of those who had never experienced a "going-steady" or engagement relationship. If male subjects who were "going steady" at the time of the survey are pooled with those who had experienced this relationship in the past, a C.R. of 2.90 is obtained from the difference in means between those who have ever been "steady dates" and those who have never been "steady dates." Similarly, if male subjects who have been engaged, excluding married subjects, are compared with subjects who have never been engaged, a C.R. of 3.76 is obtained between the mean criticism scores of these two groups. Again, none of these differences is significant for female subjects.

However, it may occur to the reader that age differences may be responsible for all of the significant differences in parent criticism which were found. Admittedly, more advanced courtship subjects do tend to be older than those with less advanced courtship experience. Perhaps it is the general maturity which comes with more advanced years

which accounts for the higher criticism scores, rather than courtship status.

This alternative explanation was tested by means of analysis of variance. This technique permitted analysis of the variance of our criticism scores to determine how much variation was explained by age variability, how much by courtship status differentials, and how much by the interaction between these two factors. An analysis of variance was made for eight of the comparisons which yielded significant differences in Table 1. A brief summary of the results of these analyses is found in Table 2.

The more rigorous analysis made possible by use of the variance analysis technique reduces the number of significant differences. However, it is clear that in six cases the F ratios for *courtship status*, and *total*, mean squares either are significant or approach the 5 per cent significance level. By contrast, in only three of the eight cases does the F ratio for age approach significance. Thus it is clear that the influence of courtship status on criticism is independent of the influence of age and is more significant than is age. Moreover, inspection of the subgroup means in those distributions where the F ratios for age were significant demonstrates that older subjects tend to be more critical only when they are advanced in courtship. That is, subjects twenty-two years of age and older are *not* more critical than those twenty-one years of age and younger, when neither group has had advanced courtship experience. However, older, advanced courtship subjects are more critical than younger, advanced courtship subjects. This suggests that age is associated with criticism only in the presence of the advanced courtship variable.

The greater rigor of the variance analysis procedure re-

TABLE 2. F RATIOS FROM ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF EIGHT COMBINATIONS OF DATA FOR MALES FROM TABLE 1, TOGETHER WITH CRITERION F RATIOS, CRITICAL RATIOS, AND MEAN DIFFERENCES OF CRITICISM SCORES.

Numbers and courtship stages of groups compared	Courtship status	F Ratios		Criterion F ratios	Criticism score mean differences	Critical ratio
		Age	Interaction courtship and age			
3 & 4 No particular date without partner, and with partner groups	3.01	< 1.	< 1.	3.92 = 5%	1.25	2.23
5 & 11 Favorite date total, and engaged total groups	3.78	< 1.	< 1.	3.93 = 5%	1.29	2.93
7 & 8 NPD & FD never GS or engaged, and NPD & FD never engaged groups	1.52	< 1.	< 1.	3.90 = 5%	.80	1.95
7 & 13 NPD & FD never GS or eng., and subjects ever GS groups	2.95	< 1.	< 1.	3.87 = 5%	1.13	2.90
14 & 15 Subjects ever eng., and subjects never engaged groups	8.89	< 1.	< 1.	6.73 = 1%	1.55	3.49
7 & 9 NPD & FD never GS or eng., and NPD & FD past eng. groups	5.71	6.36	3.41	4.02 = 5%	3.46	3.76
8 & 9 NPD & FD past GS but never eng., and NPD & FD, past eng. groups	5.57	4.25	4.07	3.91 = 5%	2.66	3.00
(7 & 8) & 9 NPD & FD never GS and/or never eng., and NPD & FD past engaged groups	7.33	4.51	4.52	6.76 = 1% 3.89 = 5%	2.87	3.17

veals a pattern in Table 2 which suggests that the transition from the going-steady to the engagement status is perhaps the most emancipating step in the courtship cycle. Note that all of the comparisons that meet the 5 per cent significance criterion involve comparisons of subjects who have experienced engagement, with various groups of subjects who have not. No such clear pattern emerges in the comparisons of subjects who have not experienced the going steady relationship with those who have experienced the relationship.

DISCUSSION

Our findings in this study would suggest that courtship experience and participation in a youth subculture have no relationship with the tendency of girls to be critical of their parents' marriages. However, these data do show a relationship between male criticism scores and both current courtship status and past courtship experience. Male subjects occupying more advanced courtship status positions were significantly more critical than were subjects less advanced in courtship. Casual dating males who had in the past experienced "going steady" and engagement relationships were significantly more critical than those casual dating males who had never experienced these relationships. However, we found no relationship between romanticism scores and criticism scores. This negative finding suggests at least three possibilities: (1) the criticism scores may be invalid; (2) the romanticism scores may be invalid; or (3) Parsons' suggestion of a relationship between romanticism and emancipation may be erroneous. In evaluating these three alternatives we admit that there is a possibility that the criticism scores are invalid. However, the significant differences between different groups of subjects which we have discovered still require explanation. Whether the romanticism items are invalid or Parsons' thesis is in error can only be answered in the course of further studies. However, this study has established a definite probability that advanced courtship and particularly *engagement* experience is associated with the tendency to be critical of parents' marriages for males. Whether the experience gives rise to criticism as Parsons suggests, or whether only those who are more emancipated venture into these relationships, cannot be determined from our data.

The data which have been described in this study require reformulation of the hypothesis which was tested. The hypothesis as originally stated did not predict sex difference with respect to criticism of parents' marriages in connection with increasing courtship involvement. Differences predicted by the hypothesis were not found in the data for female subjects. Thus, we must conclude that Parsons' analysis of the peer-group subculture, as a "weaning

mechanism" serving to ease emancipation of adolescence from heavy dependence and involvement with their parental families, may be valid for males but is probably not valid for females. Indeed, that the same results would not be obtained for males and females might have been predicted on the basis of previously published empirical work. Such was the conclusion of earlier findings by Komarovsky and Winch. Komarovsky's analysis of differences in the behaviors of parents toward their sons and daughters revealed that sons were given earlier and more frequent opportunity for independent action and were allowed more privacy in personal affairs than girls. Daughters, she found, were held to "a more exact code of filial and kinship obligation." As a result of these differences, Komarovsky believes that girls are frequently unable to achieve stable emancipation from their families of orientation in their late adolescence.⁶

Winch, too, found significant difference between the correlates of advanced courtship in college men and college women. For the men Winch found that advanced courtship tended to be dependent upon the men's losing their attachments to their mothers. For women, however, advanced courtship was not dependent on such emancipation from either parent. Winch concluded that advanced courtship for men tends to accompany emancipation from the home, but that this is not necessary for women since they may merely transfer dependence from parents to husband.⁷ Note that our findings in this study exactly parallel Winch's finding. Criticism of parent's marriages were high for advanced courtship males and low for non-dating males, but no such relationship was found for females.

Since our findings in respect to the absence of female emancipation with increasing youth subculture participation are in agreement with some previous findings concerning female adolescence, we can state with greater confidence that Parsons' analysis of the youth subculture as a "weaning mechanism" is in need of modification. The change must take into account the fact that girls are not encouraged "to stand on their own two feet" during adolescence as are boys. In fact, a girl's courtship and marriage do not require any independent action or initiative on her part (although these may frequently be exercised to some extent). Courtship in our society still presumes that the boy asks the girl for most dates and that he proposes marriage. Thus the structural requirements of the girl's status do not require, as in the boy's case, that she make a transition from the passivity and compliance demanded in childhood to the initiative required during adolescence.⁸

⁶ Mirra Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950), p. 512.

⁷ Robert F. Winch, "Courtship in College Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (November, 1949), p. 277.

⁸ Arnold W. Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (February, 1946), p. 40.

SOCIAL DESIRABILITY AS A LATENT VARIABLE* IN MEDICAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

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Within the last few years increasing emphasis has been placed on the possible effects on questionnaire responses of an underlying variable which Allen Edwards has called "social desirability."¹ Edwards and other builders of psychological tests² have demonstrated that a subject tends to respond more often to material which seems to place him in a favorable position, and to respond less often to material which seems unfavorable. Even when the respondent is withdrawn from situations of social interaction, he may be highly influenced in his responses by his conception of how others might evaluate his set of responses.

To the extent that the researcher desires questionnaire responses which are not contaminated by the subject's desire to present himself in a favorable light, the influence of this variable may produce marked biases in the returns. Considering the increase in the use of and the weight attached to questionnaires and similar instruments in social science research,³ it would seem important to determine the effects of such a contaminant.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

This study represents an effort to determine the effect of social desirability on responses of cardiac patients to a questionnaire that probes their conception of their own state of health. The study was undertaken while the author was employed as a sociologist in investigations of the Northwest Cardiac Work Evaluation Clinic in Seattle.⁴ The mission of the clinic was to evaluate the extent of disability due to cardiac disease and to make recommenda-

tions to other authorities as to the probable ability of each patient to support himself by outside employment.

One of the evaluative techniques used in the clinic was the Cornell Medical Index,⁵ a widely used questionnaire for medical patients. This form served both as a screening instrument and as a more-or-less standardized interview form for the medical personnel. The greater share of the items relate to states of bodily health in a symptomatic way. Examples of these items are: "Do you need glasses to read?," "Do you suffer from hay fever?" and "Are your joints often painfully swollen?" A second portion of the questionnaire contains a set of questions called the "mood and feeling" items, which are intended to establish a "psychosocial adjustment level." The items are concerned with the patient's attitudes toward others and his feelings toward anxiety, personal inadequacy, stressful situations, etc. The following is a representative example: "Do you feel alone and sad at a party?," "Do strange people or places make you afraid?" and "Do people usually misunderstand you?"

During the study of the cardiac patients by the medical personnel, rather divergent patterns of responses were noted on the mood and feeling items. However, the extent of cardiac involvement did not seem to be highly associated with any particular degree or pattern of response.⁶ The current research was done in an attempt to determine what other *latent* variable might be operative which could contribute to, or obscure, the response patterns of the patients on this questionnaire.

THE PROBLEM FOR STUDY

The problem investigated here is fairly specific. Is there a social desirability effect on the responses of the cardiac patients to the Cornell Medical Index? This question may be investigated by determining the amount of association between the perceived social desirability "value" of each item, and the probability that the item will be endorsed by the respondents.⁷

⁵ Keeve Brodman et al., "The Cornell Medical Index: An Adjunct to Medical Interview," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 140 (June, 1949), pp. 530-534.

⁶ Personal communication from Dr. Robert Bruce, Cardiology Section, Department of Medicine, University of Washington.

⁷ Edwards, *op. cit.*

* Paper read at annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, April, 1958.

¹ Allen L. Edwards, "The Relationship Between the Judges' Desirability of a Trait and the Probability That the Trait Will Be Endorsed," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 37 (April, 1953), pp. 90-93; and Wilbert E. Fordyce, "Social Desirability in the MMPI," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 20 (June, 1956), pp. 171-175.

² Charles Hanley, "Social Desirability and Responses to Items From Three MMPI Scales: D, Sc, and K," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 40 (October, 1956), pp. 324-328.

³ George A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, New York: Longman, 1942, pp. 182-210.

⁴ The author is indebted to the staff of the clinic, and also to the Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, and the Cardiology Section, Department of Medicine, for the opportunity to conduct research using their patients and equipment.

THE EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

In order to determine the structure of social desirability of item responses, an ordering of items must be developed. In other words, the items must be ranked on the basis of how socially desirable or undesirable a positive response would be. For the purposes of this study, only 57 items of the Cornell Medical Index were used, all from the mood and feeling section. The remainder of the items were felt to relate too much to the factual aspects of the patients' symptom history. As Thurstone has shown, in questionnaires which are intended to investigate subjects' feelings, factual items generally prove to be poor discriminators.⁸

The Thurstone scaling technique of successive intervals was used to determine the position of the items upon a continuum of social desirability.⁹ The method requires the use of a group of subjects who act as judges, determining the degree of social desirability they associate with each item. Judgments were made by 30 cardiac patients as they were processed through the evaluation clinic. While a larger number of subjects would have been desirable, a time limitation and the fact that patients were referred to the clinic at a rate of two per week prevented the collection of more responses.

Each patient was asked to judge how desirable or undesirable a positive item response would be. His choice was indicated on a nine-interval continuum, with adjectival headings for each interval, and with a neutral point indicated. To maximize the objectivity of judgments, each patient was directed to evaluate the statement as if it were a statement made by someone else. The question-answer format of the original Cornell form was reworded to give a set of direct statements. For example, the statement, "Do you get nervous or shaky when approached by a superior?" was altered to read, "I get nervous or shaky when approached by a superior." It was felt that this manipulation would make the task of judgment easier, and also make the format more similar to that most often used in scaling studies.

In addition to the cardiac group mentioned above, 90 students in good health were asked to judge the same items. Instructions given to this group were identical to those given to the cardiac group. By comparing the scale values for the items determined by this group with those of the cardiac group it was hoped that any patterning of social desirability peculiar to the patient group might be detected.

After collection of the basic data, item scale values were computed for each group. In the scaling operation the judges placed the items into nine intervals. In Thurstone's successive interval technique, no assumptions need be made

as to the psychological equality of the intervals on the continuum. The statistical assumptions that must be met pertain to the stability of the boundaries between the intervals. An important related assumption is that the distribution of judgment responses is normal, or nearly so, for each item. When the distribution of responses on each item of the Cornell schedule was plotted on normal probability paper, the plots generally conformed to the straight line criterion for normality.

For each of the groups, a measure of judge consistency was applied. This was necessary in order to demonstrate whether or not the scale values were adequately descriptive, as measures of central tendency, of the distribution of judgments on the items. In this case, a technique proposed by Edwards and Thurstone was used.¹⁰ This method utilizes the absolute average cell deviations between an "obtained" or experimental data matrix of cumulative proportions in each category on the continuum, and an "expected" matrix, which was developed from the scale values themselves. This technique is essentially a "goodness of fit" type of test, with the exception that, unlike chi-square tests, there is no known sampling distribution for this measure, so that it is not possible to make statements of statistical significance regarding the obtained values of the measure, or of the differences between two such measures. Edwards and others have found values of this measure of an order ranging from .02 to .04 using about 25 statements. The absolute average cell deviation for the cardiac group in this study was .05 and for the nonpatient group .07. Although these values are slightly larger than those found by others, it is quite possible that the use of larger numbers of statements, as in this study, might in part be responsible for the increase. Since the values are quite close to those found in other research efforts, it would seem that the judges in this case are able to make their judgments with a sufficient degree of consistency as to allow further manipulations with the scale values.

In addition to establishing the social desirability continuum, the design of the study required the determination of the probability of endorsement by cardiac patients of each of the 57 items. To accomplish this, a random sample of 100 cases was drawn from the files of the evaluation clinic. These cases represented patients who had gone through the clinic and who had filled out the Cornell Medical Index as a part of the clinic routine. Since the item responses were in the form of "yes" and "no" answers, the probability of any item being answered in a positive direction was considered to be the proportion of times it actually was answered in a positive direction by respondents. The probabilities of endorsement of the items ranged from $p = .80$ for the statement, "I often get spells of complete

⁸ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

⁹ J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, 2nd ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954.

¹⁰ Allen L. Edwards and L. L. Thurstone, "An Internal Consistency Check for Scale Values Determined by the Method of Successive Intervals," *Psychometrika*, 17 (June, 1952), pp. 169-180.

exhaustion or fatigue," to $p = .00$ for the statement, "I am considered a clumsy person."

To return now to the original problem: Is there a social desirability effect on responses of cardiac patients to the Cornell Medical Index? At this point it can be seen that the method for answering the question is quite simple. Using Thurstone's successive interval technique, the social desirability value attached to a positive response was established for each of the 57 items selected from the schedule. Using a different subject group, the probability that a cardiac patient would respond positively was also established for each of the 57 items. If the correlation between the social desirability values and the probabilities of response on all items is low, we should conclude that responses on the Cornell Medical Index are not affected by social desirability influences. On the other hand, if the correlation is high, the result would suggest that the responses are affected by the desire of the subjects to represent themselves in a socially desirable way.

With the data for the present study, a product-moment correlation of .19 was computed between the scale values of the cardiac group and their item probabilities of endorsement. ($p > .30$) From this it seems necessary to reject any hypotheses regarding the effects of social desirability of item responses upon cardiac patients. The data reveal that a cardiac patient from the group studied did not in general tend to respond more often to a statement which was judged to have high social desirability than he did to a statement of medium or low social desirability.

As was mentioned earlier, for comparison purposes a group of respondents of normal health was also treated in a manner similar to the cardiac group. The intent was to examine any differential effect of social desirability on a nonpatient population. Unfortunately, the latter data yielded so few positive responses on the Cornell Medical Index that measures of association could not be computed.

Although not fruitful in the manner originally expected, the data from the nonpatient group led to an interesting side issue. Thurstone and Chave, in their early monograph outlining much of the applications and uses of scaling techniques, developed and seemed to substantiate the assumption that the determination of scale values of statements could be independent of the feelings or attitudes of the judges themselves.¹¹ A number of studies have reported confirmation of the assumption.¹² In order to ascertain how the present data relate to the Thurstone-Chave assumption,

¹¹ Thurstone and Chave, *op. cit.*

¹² Leonard W. Ferguson, "The Influence of Individual Attitudes on Construction of an Attitude Scale," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6 (February, 1935), pp. 115-117; R. Pintner and G. Forlano, "The Influence of Attitude Upon Scaling of Attitude Items," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 8 (February, 1937), pp. 39-45; and H. J. Eysenck and S. Crown, "An Experimental Study in Opinion-Attitude Methodology," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 3 (Spring, 1949), pp. 47-86.

the scale values of the 57 items, determined by the cardiac patients and the nonpatient judges, were correlated, using the product-moment method. The research of Thurstone and Chave, as well as others, has produced very high correlations between the sets of scale values for two groups of judges with divergent attitudinal backgrounds. The scale values for the two groups in the present study, however, show a very low product-moment correlation, of an order of .10! This result would seem to be quite contrary to previous evidence.

A possible explanation of the low correlation is that the product-moment correlation is an inappropriate measure here. Because of the nature of the intervals, and the possibility that scale values may vary within the intervals in a numerically random manner so as to affect the proportionality of change between the two variables, it would seem that a *rank* correlation method might be more useful with the data under examination. Consequently, the items were ranked, using the numerical magnitude of the scale values. The value of Spearman's rank correlation measure, rho, for this data was .48. This evidence indicates a low-moderate degree of correlation between the scale values of the two groups. The degree of relationship, however, is much less than might be expected on the basis of the Thurstone-Chave assumption. Edwards and Kenny have suggested, in this connection, that if the degree of "ego-involvement" varies for the two groups of judges, lower correlations might occur.¹³ It is also possible that there are constellations of self-perceptions which are peculiar to the chronically-ill cardiac patient, by contrast with the normal subject, and which result in a quite dissimilar viewpoint as to the social desirability represented in given statements about health.

CONCLUSIONS

While other experimental evidence has demonstrated that social desirability effects may produce significant variations in questionnaire responses, the present study indicates that cardiac patients are not influenced by social desirability considerations in responding to questionnaire items on psychological, sociological and physical traits. The findings suggest that the variable is not a general contaminant of all questionnaires given any groups of subjects. If the question is raised as to why social desirability did not appear as an influence on the questionnaire responses of the present study, at least two possible lines of further inquiry are suggested. Are health and the related areas investigated by the Cornell Medical Index type of questionnaire not susceptible to influence by social desirability consideration? Or, alternatively, are cardiac pa-

¹³ Allen L. Edwards and Kathryn Claire Kenney, "A Comparison of the Thurstone and Likert Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 30 (February, 1946), pp. 72-83.

tients, for some reason, particularly objective in their self-characterization of their state of health and related conditions?

On the methodological aspect, the low product-moment correlation between the social desirability values assigned to items by cardiac and noncardiac judges, and the improved correlation that resulted with the use of the rank order method, suggests that statistical methods which assume an underlying metric may be unsuitable for application to the successive intervals scale.

Finally, the fact that the correlation between the scale

value assignments of cardiac and noncardiac judges was low even when measured by ranking methods suggests that certain dynamic variables of a social psychological nature might be operative which result in the formation of divergent cognitive structures by means of which the members of the two groups interpret their reactions to psychological objects.

A large task remains for further research in that additional relevant characteristics for differentiating persons must be developed in order that more refined tests may be made of the factors alluded to in this study.

HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE FOREMAN*

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This paper will be concerned with some of the basic cultural and structural conditions which impinge on the application of the human relations approach in industry. Although human relations studies have been criticized for failing to take these conditions or factors into account, little has been done to clarify the specific ways in which human relations theory may be related to the study of cultural systems and social structures.

Sufficient work has been done to make it clear that human relations programs do not operate in a vacuum but are subject to limitations imposed upon them by the existence of a broader framework of cultural and social systems. As an example, there are a number of studies of the process of technological and supervisory changes in industrial organizations which reveal the limits imposed upon the effectiveness of human relations techniques and the success of innovation by structural factors. Typical of the situations thus studied are: classrooms training,¹ where the supervisors' attitudes and skills are modified without a parallel change in the approach of the supervisors' superiors;² simultaneous training of several levels of management in order to ease the introduction of change and ensure its long run acceptance;³ introducing the new su-

pervising approach through the regular line with the human relations instructor serving as staff advisor; and finally the application of surveys conducted in the same industry as a "feed back" system, generating support for the change.⁴

For the most part, those basic structural factors that set limits to the human relations approach are regarded as beyond the possibility of manipulation and hence to be ignored. Attention is focused, rather, on ways and means of smoothing transitions and overcoming resistance to innovations. This emphasis on facilitating techniques as against dealing with the broader structural situation may be explained by the practical focus of many human relations studies. It is suggested here, however, that from the standpoint of both basic theory and practical application, it is essential to study the limiting factors to see whether they are really not subject to control, and if so, to learn what the limitations are so as to avoid inappropriate application.

The remaining part of this paper will be devoted to an analysis of two examples where the operation of human relations programs are conditioned and limited by cultural or structural factors. The first will have to do with cross-cultural and sub-cultural differences in the prevalence of democratic vs. authoritarian traditions. The second will examine the alternative structural positions of foremen. In both cases, the analysis will have implications for

* Expanded version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, April, 1958. The author is indebted to William Kornhauser for a very helpful criticism of earlier versions of this paper.

¹ On the artificial atmosphere of the classroom and its consequences see Mason Haire, *Psychology in Management*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956, pp. 102-122.

² See *Leadership and Supervision: A Survey of Research Findings*, U. S. Civil Service Commission, December, 1955, p. 4.

³ Edwin A. Fleishman, *A Study of the Leadership Role of the Foreman in an Industrial Situation*, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio (stencil), 1951, especially p. 8. See also, Edwin A. Fleishman, Edwin F. Harris and Harold E. Burt, *Leadership and Super-*

vision in Industry, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1955, especially pp. 90-92.

⁴ Floy C. Mann, "Studying and Creating Change: A means to Understanding Social Organization," in C. M. Arensberg et al., (ed.), *Research on Industrial Human Relations*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957, especially pp. 151-167. See also Mason Haire, "Some Problems of Industrial Training," *Journal of Social Issues*, IV (Summer, 1948), pp. 41-47.

the foreman as he attempts to employ human relations methods.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Most human relations studies either avoid the fact of cultural differences by not discussing them or by assuming that the workers are a constant factor themselves from which standard and desirable reactions may be elicited by a standardized program. For instance, all workers are expected to prefer democratic supervision over authoritarian supervision, to welcome responsibility, and to prefer mutual understanding to griping.

Cross-Cultural Factors: Among Societies.

There is very little information about different reactions to the same basic human relations programs in different cultures and societies⁵ and even less about the possibilities, if any, of adjusting human relations programs to different cultures.⁶ The human relations approach, although basically one idea, has several levels of application. On the most superficial level it means talking in a "nice," "human," considerate way to subordinates instead of using the more authoritative forms of speech. Seen in a deeper way and in more psychological terms, it means being sensitive to the other's psychological needs and expressions, understanding the other, and taking his feelings into account. Basically, it means a democratic rather than authoritarian way of leading people, a minimum of coercion, a maximum of persuasion, two way communication, direct or representative participation in decision-making, and a sharing of responsibility.⁷ Human relations techniques have emerged out of such famous studies as those by Mayo,⁸

the Lippitt and White experiment⁹ and the surveys of Daniel Katz and his colleagues.¹⁰ It was long believed, and many still do, that supervision applying these standard techniques will achieve higher quality and quantity of production as well as higher satisfaction of the workers. Participation is considered an important way for achieving both.¹¹ There seems to be an implicit cultural assumption behind these beliefs, namely that the worker has a democratic personality. It is overlooked that this may be a consequence of being raised in a democratic family, school and society; of being used to democratic leadership; and having internalized democratic values. This gives rise to a question seldom raised and only rarely studied: What about the worker who has been raised in a different society and has an authoritarian personality—meaning here—being used to an authoritarian way of leadership? There is some material which indicates that workers in such cultures, e.g., in the so-called traditional societies, will tend to be most effective and most satisfied under paternalistic-authoritarian supervision.¹² For these workers any other type of leadership, including democratic leadership, may be quite disruptive and disturbing. Nobody seems to have repeated the Lippitt-White study with children in such societies. There are no conclusive data about the supervisor-worker relationship. Although it seems quite plausible that those raised under one type of leadership will prefer it to any other type, whatever the other type may be, there is at least one significant alternative hypothesis which must be considered.

The basic assumption of the human relations philosophy is that the human relations approach is better tuned to the basic psychological needs of the human being than any other approach.¹³ This may be so even though workers

⁵ For a report on France see Georges Friedman, *Industrial Society*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, pp. 330-350; on Japan see Kunio Odaka, "An Iron Workers' Community in Japan: A Study in the Sociology of Industrial Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 186-195; on Israel see Amitai Etzioni, "Work as an Educational Technique in Israel," *Enfance*, December, 1957; and on Finland see Kullervo Rainio, "Leadership Qualities: A Theoretical Inquiry and an Experimental Study in Foremen," *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Sarja-Ser, B Nide-Tom. 95 (1955), I, especially Part II.

⁶ Some insights on non-work situations can be obtained from John Gyr, "Analysis of Committee Members Behavior in Four Cultures," *Human Relations*, IV (1951), pp. 193-202.

⁷ The human relations approach on all these levels can be sincere as well as manipulative. See for instance, Reinhard Bendix and Lloyd H. Fisher, "The Perspectives of Elton Mayo," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXI (November, 1949), pp. 312-319; Harold L. Wilensky, "Human Relations in the Work Place: An Appraisal of Some Recent Research," in Conrad M. Arensberg, et al. (ed.), *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1957, pp. 25-54.

⁸ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945; F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. For a recent report see William F. Whyte, "Human Relations Theory—A Progress Report," *Harvard Business Review*, 34 (Sept.-Oct., 1956), pp. 125-132.

⁹ Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White, "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology*, rev. ed., New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952, pp. 340-355.

¹⁰ Daniel Katz, Nathan Maccoby, Gerald Gurin, Lucretia G. Floor, *Productivity Supervision and Morale Among Railroad Workers*, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1951; Daniel Katz, Nathan Maccoby and Nancy C. Morse, *Productivity, Supervision and Morale in an Office Situation*, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1950.

¹¹ Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, rev. ed., New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952, pp. 459-473; Lester Coch and John R. P. French, Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change," *Human Relations*, I (1948), pp. 512-523. On the relationship between the Mayo school and the Kurt Lewin group see C. M. Arensberg and G. Tootell, "Plant Sociology: Real Discoveries and New Problems," in Mirra Komarovsky (ed.), *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.

¹² Keo-Heng Shin, *China Enters the Machine Age*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944, especially pp. 179-195.

¹³ People who do not prefer democratic leadership are described as immature, Chris Argyris, *Executive Leadership—Developing It in Yourself and Others*, New Haven: Yale University, Labor and Management Center, p. 25.

raised in a traditional or totalitarian society will *temporarily* prefer authoritarian supervision because they are used to it from childhood, since every change, even to an improved state from the point of view of psychological equilibrium, involves strains and tensions and therefore some resistance. The alternative hypothesis suggests that, even in the long run, after the workers have been thoroughly exposed to the human relations approach, they will not prefer it. Sociologists cannot answer this question by pointing out the virtues of democracy and the vices of authoritarian leadership. The hypothesis has to be empirically tested. It is hard to overestimate the significance of this test. The findings will be relevant for those interested in the possibilities of introducing political democracy into newly developed countries, as well as contributing insight to the age old controversy about the relative determining power of childhood experience and early socialization (which would mean in this context that democratic leadership would be relatively unsuccessful for people raised in a non-democratic society) versus the relative significance of situational factors in molding behavior (which would mean here that people can, at least after a period of adjustment, be brought to prefer democratic leadership even if raised in a non-democratic society).

Cross-Cultural Factors: Sub-Cultures

Differences in the predisposition of workers toward human relations management can be detected not only among workers raised in different cultures but also among workers raised in the same basic culture, due to differences in sub-cultures and differential membership in social groups.¹⁴ The first clue to these factors can be found in the Lippitt-White experiment. The children with whom the experiment was conducted came from a progressive school, which permits the assumption (uncontrolled in this experiment) that all or most children came from a democratically oriented social environment. There was one child, however, who came from a partially different background; his father was an army officer. This child, we are told, preferred and was more effective under authoritarian leadership.¹⁵ We do not know if he would have continued to prefer authoritarian leadership if he had been exposed to democratic leadership for a longer period.

There are social groups in every modern society which are analogous to the son of the army officer in the sense that

¹⁴ Some interesting differences according to age, sex and occupation are reported by Howard M. Vollmer and Jack A. Kinney, *Identifying Potential Supervisors*, State University of Iowa, Iowa Bureau of Labor and Management Research Series, No. 12, especially pp. 13-14, and Howard M. Vollmer and Jack A. Kinney, "Informal Requirements for Supervisory Positions," *Personnel*, 35 (March, 1957), p. 439. Since questions on ethnic origin could not have been asked in these studies, this factor is not controlled nor studied.

¹⁵ On the army officer's son see Lippitt and White, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

their background does not prepare them to accept democratic leadership and the responsibilities of rational behavior which the human relations approach requires.¹⁶ There are two main types of such groups and, respectively, two types of workers: traditional groups and "transitional" groups.¹⁷

When we speak about modern industrial societies we tend to associate them with assembly lines, large scale organizations, trade unions and the increasing significance of the white collar occupational group. This tends to hide the fact that there are still considerable sectors of these societies where life, despite the processes of urbanization, follows quite traditional patterns. A considerable part of the manual, especially unskilled, laborers of the United States, for instance, have been new immigrants, many of them from traditional societies. How does a Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican or Mexican first-generation immigrant accept the human relations treatment?¹⁸ Is he at the beginning more disturbed than gratified, more confused and tense than happy and enthusiastic? What happens later? How, if at all, does he adjust to the new democratic way of supervision?

The "transitional" group is composed of social groups which are half modernized but still half traditional. The father can no longer hold complete control over his children who have independent sources of income and are more assimilated than he is, but he is still much more authoritative than the typical urban middle-class father. Some modern values and norms are introduced in the public schools, but the teacher, often a member of a transitory group himself, is still quite authoritarian. Members of the transitional group include some of the second generation immigrants from traditional societies who come from relatively isolated rural areas in which urbanization only partially changed the old values and patterns of authority, as well as many of the industrial laborers of newly developed countries. Workers of this type may, at least initially, be unprepared to accept human relations supervision as a satisfactory type of leadership. They may consider it too weak and/or too demanding; they may find the transfer from "leader-oriented" to "group-oriented" social control quite disturbing.

The traditional worker tends to accept paternalistic-

¹⁶ "We thought at first, of course, that all workers would love increased responsibility. But in fact, some did and some didn't. In surveys 15-20 of the workers in the job enlargement groups said they didn't like the way of doing things." "They come from tightly controlled homes and schools." Rensis Likert, *First Management Work Conference in Developing Human Resources*, February 12-24, 1956, notes from February 16, 1956, p. 2.

¹⁷ For a study of immigrants where this distinction proves to be significant and fruitful, see S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd.

¹⁸ Some insight into this problem can be gained from Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951, p. 95.

authoritarian supervision as a natural extension of the father, teacher, patriarchal community and religious authority he experienced before.¹⁹ The "transitional" worker's temporary or long-term attraction to authoritarian leadership may rest on very different grounds. While the predispositions of traditional workers are based on natural groups and their leadership, the preference for authoritative guidance by the "transitional" worker may often rest on the disintegration of the natural groups and the disappearance of their leaders. Mayo, who emphasized this point, thought that this might be a basis for recruitment to Fascist movements. Others have pointed out that the Communists in newly developed countries as well as in Italy and in France are relatively successful in these groups. Mayo hoped that an enlightened industrial elite and intimate work group would supply an alternative outlet to the psychological needs of the workers. Although this may have been a deep insight which became partially true (even though, to some extent, very different factors such as trade unions were involved), one should consider a third alternative: the psychological needs of those who are attracted by authoritarian leadership may be supplied by non-political leaders such as the leaders of trade unions and authoritarian supervisors.

To sum up this point: the application to and acceptance of human relations supervision by the workers—a major structural factor from the point of view of the foreman—has to be studied on comparative grounds. The conditions under which it is accepted, partially accepted, and completely rejected must still be spelled out, and the processes of change in the attitudes of the workers from one type to another have yet to be studied and specified.

HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE FOREMAN

The foreman has often been described as the "man in the middle," a marginal man, a victim of industrialization.²⁰ He has lost functions (e.g., training, inspection),²¹ authority (e.g., the right to hire and fire), power (because of unionization), chances for mobility (because of lack of higher education), and much of his means of control over the worker (because of decline in his influence over distribution of rewards like pay, bonus, over-hours, allocation of vacation, promotion, transfers).²²

¹⁹ Compare to discussion of particularism and nepotism by Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951, pp. 126-217.

²⁰ See Donald E. Wray, "Marginal Men of Industry: The Foreman," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (January, 1944), pp. 298-301.

²¹ Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry*, New York: Wiley & Sons, 1956, pp. 213, 215.

²² See C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. 87-91; Scott A. Greer, *Social Organization*, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955, pp. 1-4; W. F. Whyte and B. Gardner, "The Man in the Middle," *Applied Anthropology*, 4 (Spring, 1945), pp. 1-28.

The first line supervisor not only has a weak position; he has a complex and delicate task to perform. On the organizational chart he is the last link in the authority line. He is seen as an integral part of management and is expected to take its side and defend its policies.

How does the human relations approach affect the foreman's problems? Does it strengthen his position and facilitate his task? How do various foremen apply the same basic training? What are the consequences of varying interpretations?

One of the main contributions of the human relations approach is that, when applied in the right way to the right type of workers, it increases the personal commitment of the workers to the foreman. This means that his authority and personal influence are increased. He can obtain more easily the performances he requests without using the limited stock of sanctions he still has. Or, to put it another way, his stock of sanctions is increased by new types of sanctions, mainly of a psychological nature, like giving or withholding praise, which were previously not used or not used in a fully conscious and systematic way. It gives the foreman new forms of control and new means for attaining his objectives.

But on the other hand, the human relations approach, like many other adaptive structures,²³ while solving some problems creates new ones.²⁴ The foreman under the new labor policy is expected to become a leader. He is expected to increase the workers' commitment to the factory, its management, and its objectives and regulations; to reduce griping, strikes, absenteeism and turnover; to communicate the workers' complaints, feelings and attitudes upward. In doing this he has to come closer to the workers and more involved in personal relations with them. But this puts strains on his loyalty to management and his ability to enforce unpopular orders when necessary. Thus, while the human relations approach increases the potential significance of the foreman's role, it also makes his task more demanding and his authority more difficult to maintain.

Four Types of Foremen's Behavior

Under the human relations regime there seem to be four ways for the foreman to work out his complicated role. Each has its own strains and stresses as well as advantages. The analysis of these four types is highly tentative and should be considered as an outline for further research.

²³ On adaptive structures see Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 168-169.

²⁴ Presumably the new stresses are not as serious as those the adaptive structure is intended to solve; otherwise it would either be abandoned or give rise to second degree adaptive structures. Promotion by seniority is such an example. It is functional because it prevents too totalistic competition, yet it also causes strain when incompetent workers are promoted. See Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, New York: Macmillan, 1946, pp. 156-157.

For the purpose of discussion, we shall assume that the factors discussed above are held constant, and that management, as well as the workers, are favorably oriented to the whole idea of human relations.

1. A foreman may view his role as *management representative*. In this case he will be inclined to see the human relations techniques as just another tool in achieving the objectives dictated by management through the authority line. Personally he may feel quite uncomfortable over the need to cultivate personal relations with the workers. His reference group will often be management *in toto*, especially second level superiors. This type of foreman will usually find it relatively easy to refrain from getting too involved, to remember what "really counts" and to insist that orders are orders.²⁵ He may fail partially or completely in his human relations objectives. The workers may respect his clear position on the management side, but tend to be constantly aware of the separating line between management (including the foreman) and the workers, which means that they will be strongly interest-oriented, calculative and uncommitted. In this situation, not only may alienation and unionization be higher, but the workers often will have their own informal leaders.²⁶ What positions the workers will take toward the foreman will depend to a considerable degree on the relationship between the foreman and this leader.

2. The second type of foreman puts extra stress on his relationship with the *workers*. His first loyalty is to them. In some cases he is a member of the same trade union as his subordinates.²⁷ His disputes with the workers are sometimes handled by the trade union people. He spends his free time with the workers.²⁸ He will tend to forget, distort, delay and water down, any orders which put strain on his relations with his friends, the workers. In his communication with management he will tend to play up the workers' demands and the difficulties in executing certain tasks and orders.²⁹ The workers may accept him as their leader, but management, as far as it is aware of the situation, can hardly be satisfied. Relationships of this type seem to exist

²⁵ "My foreman is pretty rough. He is inconsiderate even of his friends. He don't think anything of driving you... you can't be a good foreman (in the eyes of management) until the men call you names." Quoted by Arthur N. Turner, "Foreman—Key to Worker Morale," *Harvard Business Review*, 32 (Jan.-Feb., 1954), p. 77, from Charles R. Walker and Robert M. Guest, *The Man on the Assembly Line*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

²⁶ See Daniel Katz et al., *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 15.

²⁷ See Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 3, 24-25.

²⁸ Alvin W. Gouldner, *Wildcat Strike*, Yellow Springs, O.: The Antioch Press, 1954, p. 4.

²⁹ "Our foreman told us, 'You men know how to schedule runs, so let me know if you're overloaded.'" "I saw him stick his neck out with the general foreman over work loads." Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

in those working places in which the introduction of human relations caused an increase in the satisfaction of the workers but no increase in production.³⁰ If the foremen are pressed "to be nice and understanding" to the workers, some of them, under certain conditions, will tend to interpret this as not requiring pressure on the workers if relationships would be strained. This is especially so when the foreman-superintendent relationships are dominated by the same considerations. Thus, in the first type, the human relations approach is only partially accepted, while in the second type, it is overdone as far as management is concerned. The workers may be very enthusiastic over this type of lenient supervision; they may feel disturbed because it violates their expectations and cultural commitments (e.g., a fair day's work for a fair day's pay); or they may be ambivalent and suspicious over the management "guy" who turns out to be a friend.

3. The third type of foreman tries to keep both sides happy and is caught in a dilemma of *dual loyalty*.³¹ To the management he conveys the idea of a loyal subordinate eagerly reporting about opinions, activities and moods of the workers. He tries to avoid transmitting workers' requests and demands in order not to be considered as identifying with the workers. He will tend to promise high performance and to put the blame on the workers for failure to keep these promises. To the workers he conveys loyalty and understanding; he attenuates management's orders and demands; and he promises to transfer their requests and demands upwards and to "raise hell" if they are not accepted. He tries not to be identified with management. Playing on the "conspiracy psychology" of the workers (as he does on that of the management), he claims the demands have not been fulfilled because management is uncooperative and hardhearted. He is not only an "expert of double talk,"³² but also an expert on double behavior. His success is inversely related to the availability and effectiveness of *other* lines of communication, e.g., steward-superintendent or steward-business agent-management. The stronger and better they are, the smaller is his maneuvering margin and his chances of success. Unpleasant as the role may seem, one should keep in mind that, although the final responsibility over one's behavior lies in one's self, the position of foreman exerts strong pressure toward such

³⁰ On the reverse relationship between satisfaction with the company and production see Rensis Likert, *op. cit.* Compare Nahum Z. Medalia and Delbert C. Miller, *Human Relations Leadership and the Association of Morale and Efficiency in Work Groups: A Controlled Study with Small Military Units* (ditto).

³¹ On the relationship between human relations approach and organizational change see Alex Bavelas, "Some Problems of Organizational Change," *Journal of Social Issues*, IV (Summer, 1948), pp. 48-52.

³² Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, 23 (Spring, 1945), pp. 285-294.

behavior.³³ The requirements of the human relations approach, it seems, do not decrease and may even increase the probability that such behavior will occur.

4. The fourth type is the foreman who is not management oriented, not labor oriented, nor dual oriented, but oriented toward the *foremen* as a social group. While the first type tries to associate and identify with superiors, the second with the workers, the third with both according to the situation, the fourth type's membership as well as reference group are his peers. He will be more inclined to support efforts to establish independent foremen's trade unions or associations.³⁴ He will try to be fair to both management and workers but will keep the interests of his own group in mind. He will become especially active in cases in which management, through direct contact with workers or workers with management (established mainly through the trade unions' representatives), tries to further undermine his functions, rights, privileges and authority. He will try to increase his rights by fighting off attempts by staff members to interfere in his work, attempts by superintendents to determine too minutely his tasks, and attempts by workers to share some of his responsibilities. It seems that he will be less inclined than the other three types to accept the human relations approach of his superiors (which he regards as undermining his loyalty to his peers) or to apply it to his subordinates (which he regards as undermining his authority).

This is an analytical typology, which means that some elements of the various types may be found in the behavior of most foremen. As one element will tend to dominate, we can classify every foreman into one of these four categories. Whether this classification is as exhaustive as we suggest and whether it is fruitful in conducting research must be tested in future studies. We have held constant the various

³³ Henri Den Man, "The Foreman's Contradictory Tasks," in Robert Dubin (ed.), *Human Relations in Administration*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951, pp. 139-141.

³⁴ The rarity of this type may be reflected in the low rate of foreman unionization. See Robert G. Scigliano, "Trade Unionism and the Industrial Foreman," *Journal of Business*, 27 (October, 1954), pp. 293-300.

structural factors while the typology was discussed. We point now to some fruitful hypotheses which can be derived when the variations of these factors are taken into account. We would expect, for instance, that the worker-oriented foreman will be found more frequently among foremen who, previously, have been workers in the same factory, especially in the same department and with the same team. Management-oriented foremen are more likely to have been recruited from outside the particular factory. Whether or not the foreman has been a trade union member seems to have a significant influence on his interpretation of his role.³⁵ Cultural, ethnic and other background differences³⁶—rarely studied in the human relations surveys and experiments—between workers and foremen and between foremen and management, may have considerable influence in determining which interpretation of the human relations technique will dominate. The size of the factory seems to be highly related to these problems. The larger the industry, other things being equal, the higher the probability that the fourth type will emerge.

To sum up: a broader and more successful application of human relations techniques as well as a deeper integration of human relations studies into sociological analyses and theory, call for comparative studies of human relations in various cultural and structural settings.³⁷ Once these differentiations are established, they can be related to differential interpretations of the human relations approach and differential behavior of various supervisors. Full application and understanding of human relations can hardly be expected before these structural factors are incorporated into human relations studies.

³⁵ Eugene Jacobsen, "Foreman and Steward, Representatives of Management and the Union," in Harold Guetzkow (ed.), *Groups, Leadership and Men*, Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951, pp. 90-95.

³⁶ See John Hope, II, "Industrial Integration of Negroes," *Human Organization*, 2 (Winter, 1952), pp. 5-14.

³⁷ H. L. Wilensky and Peter Blau, among others, have pointed to the tendency of human relations studies to ignore cultural and structural factors. See H. L. Wilensky, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Peter Blau, "Formal Organization: Dimensions of Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (July, 1957), pp. 58-69; and Solomon Barkin, "A Pattern for the Study of Human Relations," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 9 (October, 1955), pp. 95-99.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

April 10-12, 1958

Sociological Principles in Psychiatric Treatment: A study of Social Processes in a Therapeutic Community

DENNIE L. BRIGGS

This paper describes the use of basic sociological principles in an active psychiatric treatment program in an overseas Naval hospital treating Navy and Marine Corps personnel with various emotional and personality disorders. Previous studies demonstrated the importance of early acculturation of the patient to the hospital milieu, fostering primary group identification, examining basic attitudes and values of the patient, focusing on current social tensions as grist for treatment and re-examination of traditional roles and role expectations of both patients and staff within the medical hierarchy of the hospital. Intensive use of knowledge gained from basic sociology was applied in the reorganization of the psychiatric service into a "therapeutic community" in which the essential aspects of treatment were accomplished in group settings. The entire community of 50 to 100 patients and 30 staff members met together for one hour 6 days per week to consider and examine current social tensions in the community and in the process to learn techniques of social therapy. Patients and staff learned how to examine attitudes and feelings and were expected to carry on with the process during the remainder of the day and night.

Smaller social therapy groups were organized around work situations, recreation and psychotherapy. Patients were taught the means and were expected to assist in the treatment of other patients. Many became quite skilled therapists.

Over-all results were quite striking in terms of distressed and disturbed servicemen gaining control over their behavior through normal social controls. All forms of mechanical and physical restraint, including use of seclusion rooms on the locked ward were eliminated; electro-convulsive and deep insulin coma therapy were discontinued; sedation was reduced to an insignificant amount; one third of the beds were removed from the locked ward, and only 50 per cent of the remainder of the beds were utilized, making it possible to move patients to the open ward sooner and return patients to their duty station in a shorter time than previously. In the evacuation of acutely distressed patients to the United States for more prolonged treatment, increased control resulted. Prior to this program only 15 per cent of the patients evacuated were able to leave in their uniforms and without sedation; after the program, over 50 per cent went in uniform.

The paper very briefly describes the nature of the program and then discusses the forces believed important in accounting for the change in terms of applying social processes to the treatment program.

Is There a Strain Toward Consistency in American Culture?

WILLIAM R. CATTON, JR.
University of Washington

The hypothesis of a strain toward consistency in culture has been familiar to sociologists ever since the publication of Sumner's *Folkways*. Other theorists, however, have suggested that symbiosis or organic solidarity may be sufficient to maintain social organization without reliance on a thoroughly coherent system of folkways, mores, and values. In this study observations were made of people's responses to inconsistent, as compared with consistent, pairs of customs or culturally acquired beliefs in order to detect whatever strain toward cultural consistency remains operative in our ethnically, economically, and institutionally heterogeneous society. By means of two questionnaire versions administered to 129 subjects, data were obtained which support the hypothesis that a strain toward cultural consistency is felt even in modern America.

The Role of Economic Motivation in Ethnic Relations

RALPH R. IRELAND
University of Arizona

Talcott Parsons maintains that all human activity, including economic activity, takes place within the institutional framework of society. The societal institutions serve to organize and integrate the subjective aspects of human social action, i.e., the underlying motivational forces. These motivational forces are comprised of disinterested moral sentiments (status, rights, roles) and self-interest. Self-interest expresses itself in economic motivation by a desire for recognition and a desire for self-respect. Insecurity in the economic world may be manifested by such traits as overaggressiveness, acquisitiveness, or an unwillingness to participate in entrepreneurial activities.

Parsons' conceptual framework has been used as an analytical tool to achieve further insight into French-English relations in Quebec. It is seen that the frustrations exhibited by French-Canadians may be attributed in part to the difficulties they experience when trying to adjust their cultural heritage and traditional institutional patterns to an alien and incompatible economic superstructure. This process creates conflicts on the subjective motivational level. The crisis confronting French-Canadian culture is "adjust or perish."

Some Implications of the "Developmental Task" Concept in the Fields of Family Sociology

ROBERT L. JAMES
University of Alberta

Central to the approach of Duvall's *Family Development* is the concept of "the developmental task." It is advanced not only in the descriptive and analytical senses, but in the predictive sense as well. Because of the importance attached to the concept as a major tool in an important field of inquiry, examination of it is called for. The developmental task is a task occurring at a certain point in the individual's life, success of which leads to future success and happiness, while failure leads to future failure and unhappiness. Important to the occurrence of this task are: (1) the combination of biological, motivational and social expectation factors, and (2) the existence of the "teachable moment"—the moment most propitious for individual task performance.

The concept seems to focus attention mainly on the individual. The individual must accept responsibility for his own development by initially assuming certain tasks related to growth. Implied, once the sequence is started, is a mechanistic quality with "success" in the present guaranteeing "success" in the future. Problems concerning the nature of the "first" developmental task, whether generalizations can be made about these tasks, and whether an optimum sequence exists are not clearly answered. Other problems are encountered when one considers the relationship of the individual to the group; what takes place when conflicts occur in task performance, whether the perception of the individual differs from that of the group, and whether priority exists as to task performance within groups.

There are important methodological implications in the use of the concept. One is that the concept at the present time is restricted to a descriptive, *ex post facto* role. A second relates to the meaning of success and failure in the context of the concept, and points up the necessity for failures to be experienced in the preparation of individuals for contemporary society.

A Motivational Analysis of "The Nixon Papers"

ELIZABETH J. JONES
Whittier College

The 1952 campaign controversy over the "supplementary expenditures" fund of Republican Vice-Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon has provided the data for this study. Over 300,000 written communications were sent by listeners in response to Nixon's radio-television appeal to the public. Content analysis of a sample of these responses has yielded information concerning the motivations of respondents to the speech.

The analysis of responses favoring Nixon's candidacy (99 per cent of the sample) was made in terms of a four-fold conceptual framework: *candidate orientation*—personal attraction to the candidate; *issue orientation*—concern with four campaign issues mentioned in the speech (corruption, communism, the Korean war, prosperity); *party identification*—self-identification as a Republican and/or personal criticism of the Democrats; *power orientation*—explicit assumption

tion by the respondent of a politically effective, decision-making role.

Candidate orientation appeared in 65 per cent of all responses; issue orientation in 13 per cent; party identification, in 28 per cent; power orientation, in 57 per cent. Simple statements of position reflecting none of these orientations accounted for 23 per cent of responses. Typically, respondents were oriented in more than one of the directions identified.

Comparative analysis of the time distribution of the same themes in the speech revealed the parallel occurrence of 65 per cent candidate orientation, 8 per cent issue orientation, and 17 per cent party identification on the speaker's part. Only 10 per cent of the speech was identified as power-oriented, however, suggesting that a redefinition of this category may be indicated.

The appeal of the speech was primarily in terms of candidate personality and the response was made in the same terms. Concern with the issues and with partisanship remained in the background. The "television personality" of the candidate was projected with demonstrable success.

Family Relationships and Juvenile Delinquency

RAYMOND A. MULLIGAN
University of Arizona

For the past decade a considerable amount of attention has been given to the problem of juvenile delinquency by professional scholars, civic leaders, popular writers and public speakers. Although the suggested remedies of these individuals are legion, with little or no evidence to indicate if any of them would be successful, we know enough sociologically about juvenile delinquency to realize that we are dealing with a complex social problem made up of a constellation of interacting personal and social factors. Since no one of these factors acts in isolation in producing juvenile delinquency, it is unlikely that any one program oriented around one "causal" variable will meet with any spectacular success. In broad sociological terms the factors involved in juvenile delinquency are encompassed in the social systems of the family, the primary group, and the community, which in turn are part of the unified societal system.

In any discussion of the role of familial relationships in promoting juvenile delinquency it is either implicitly or explicitly hypothesized that where there is conventionality, intelligence, emotional stability, understanding, sympathy, and security in the home the family influence on this type of behavior is reduced to zero. A corollary of this position and the principle of the interrelationship of social systems is that such conventional homes exert some positive influence on detrimental influences outside of the home. If these assumptions have any validity at all it would appear that the home should be a very important starting point from which to launch one type of program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Self-restraint and social responsibility on the part of children cannot be taught without discipline, tempered with understanding and love. Parents are in the best possible position to do the teaching, if we assume that most of them are interested in helping their children to internalize the values of the larger society. Where parental interest and love for the child is present we have perhaps one of the best family bulwarks against the development of juvenile delinquency.

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